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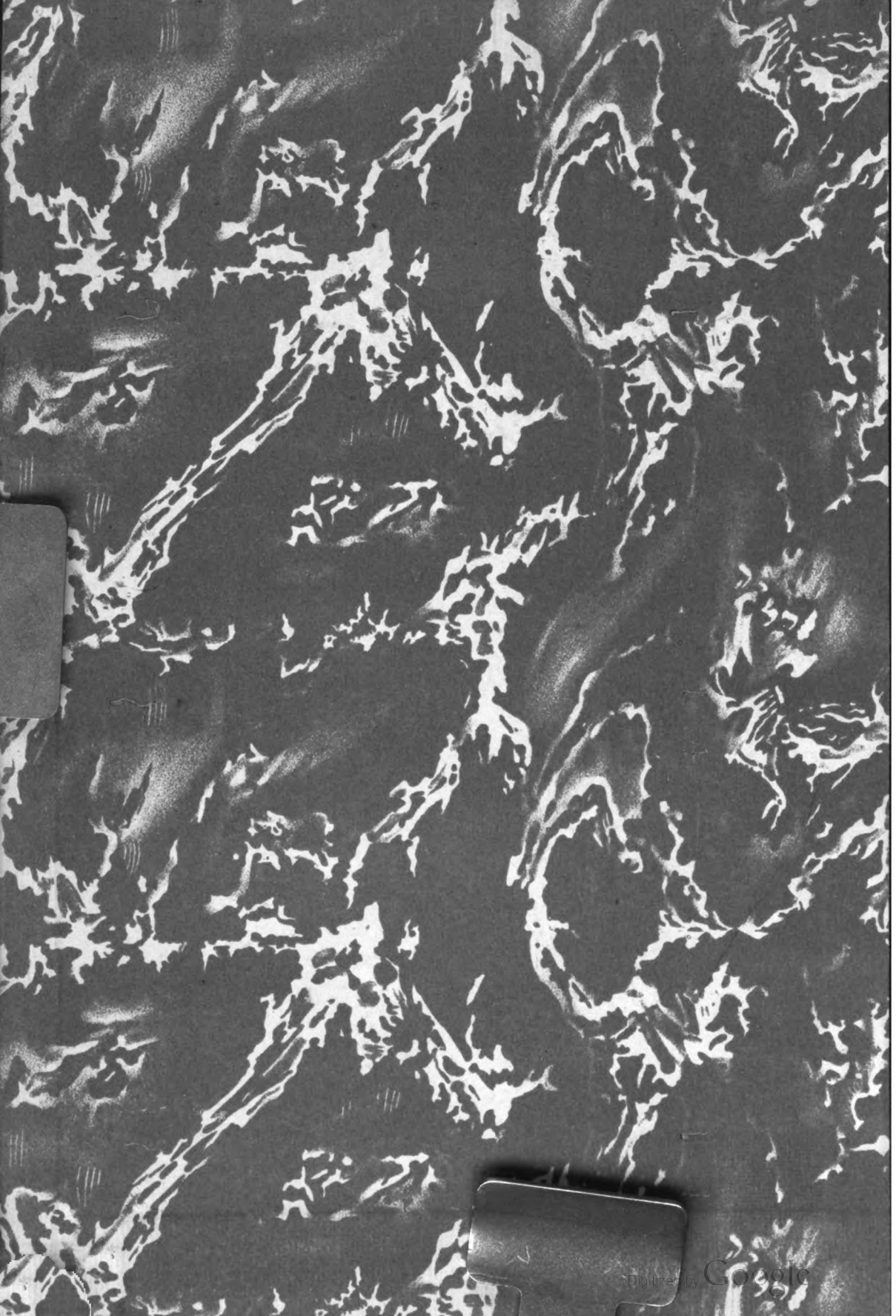
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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

THE ROMANIC REVIEW

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL

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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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NOTES ON THE METRE OF THE POEM OF THE CID

I

IN their editions of the *Poema del Cid*, both Restori¹ and Lidforss,² still influenced by the old idea of the dependence of the Castilian epic upon the French, with more or less reserve accepted the Alexandrine as the basis of its versification.³ They differed widely in their interpretation of the metrical disorder of the received text, the one seeing in it the result of an imperfect reproduction of the French verse, the other evidence of the good minstrel's ignorance of one of the elements of his craft, thus lending color to Disraeli's definition of a critic as one who has failed in literature and art; they were alike in their neglect to base their theories upon a comprehensive and scientific study of the facts in the case. In consequence of this, the labor and ingenuity bestowed by them upon their task, while leading to some acceptable emendations of the sense of a number of passages, failed entirely to bring the vexed question of the original form of the Poem any nearer to its solution. Neither took into proper account the thesis presented by Cornu as early as 1884,⁴ that the *romance*-verse was the metre of the Poem, Lidforss (*ibid.*, p. vii) even explicitly setting it aside as subversive of his own views. And yet this thesis was based upon a critical knowledge of Neo-Latin metrics, and was thus the first to afford a solid foundation for future work in this subject. For this reason alone it was

¹ *Le Gesta del Cid*, Milano, 1890. Cf. also: *Osservazioni sur metro del Poema del Cid*, Bologna, 1887.

² *Los Cantares de Myo Cid*, Lund, 1895.

³ Cf. Cornu, *Literaturblatt*, 1897, pp. 323-324; *Zeitschrift für rom. Philol.*, 21, p. 463.

⁴ *Romania*, 13, p. 308.

entitled to serious consideration, even though its acceptance involved a task of critical reconstruction not included in Sánchez's conception of an editor's duty,⁵ and the modes of text-restitution adopted by Cornu⁶ were often so sweeping as to remind one of those hapless mortals in *Renaut de Montauban*: "Les chiés me rendrés ja, et n'avrés autre pais."

After Cornu, the inquiry into this question was resumed by Menéndez y Pelayo⁷ and, with more fullness and detail, by Ramón Menéndez Pidal in his magnificent edition of the Poem,⁸ a work in which we have undoubtedly the most eminent philological study produced in Spain since the time of Milá y Fontanals. In it the author deals with almost all the important problems connected with our epic, the first volume treating of the transmission of the text, its metrical form and its grammar, the second containing a vocabulary equivalent to an archeological commentary, while the third consists of a reprint of the paleographical text and of an *edición crítica*. By his comprehensive study of documents like the *Primera Crónica General* and the hitherto unknown evidence contained in the still unedited *Crónica de Veinte Reyes*⁹ and other compilations, the author has given a much broader basis than was previously available to the investigation of the many questions, such as those concerning the history of the received text, the metre and the dialect and home of the original redaction, which our epic still presents. The author's treatment of some of these points has already been briefly discussed in the more important reviews of his work. Thus Mérimée, *Bulletin Hispanique* 11, p. 119, has questioned the correctness of the opinion locating the origin of the Poem in the extreme Southeast, instead of the Western Part, of Old Castile; while Ford, *Modern Language Notes*, 24, p. 86, has properly challenged

⁵ *Coleccion de poesías castellanas*, etc., 3, p. xxxvii: Pero ha parecido mas conveniente y menos trabajoso conservar el texto como se contiene en el original, y dexar al lector esta ocupacion.

⁶ *Symbolae Pragenses*, Prag, 1893, p. 17 ff.; *Beiträge zu einer Künftigen Ausgabe des Poema del Cid*, in *Zeitschrift für roman. Philol.*, 21, pp. 461-528.

⁷ *Antología*, II, pp. 82-127.

⁸ *Cantar de Mio Cid*, texto, gramático, vocabulario, por Ramón Menéndez Pidal. Obra premiada por la Real Academia española. Tomo I, Madrid, 1908, ix-420 pp.; tomos II, III, Madrid, 1911, 421-904 and 905-1181 pp.

⁹ Described by Menéndez Pidal in *Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*, pp. 411-414.

the justice of holding so good an artist as the composer of our epic responsible for the textual disorder of its unique and late copy; and Hanssen, *Revue de Dialectologie romane* I, p. 453, has suggested the use of rhymed prose as an explanation of the perplexing appearance of the present text, supposing, as is hardly probable, that this text should prove to be essentially identical with that of the original redaction.

It is seen from this that in his consideration of the metrical problem, the Spanish critic still adheres to the point of view held by Milá y Fontanals in 1874.¹⁰ As this position, which sets at naught the very distinct advance in the subject made by Cornu, and is reasserted by the author in the *Enmiendas y Adiciones* of p. 1174 (vol. III, 1911) against the above cited reflections of Hanssen and Ford, has a direct and decisive bearing upon every phase of the interpretation of our Poem, it is manifestly of much importance to know the very weighty reasons which a scholar of the reputation of Menéndez Pidal must have had for choosing it.

It is therefore the purpose of the following pages to examine as closely as possible the validity of the arguments advanced by the Spanish critic in defense of his course, the methods of text-restitution employed in the formation of the *edición crítica*, and to see what evidence is presented by the extant text as well as by the history of Hispanic poetry in favor of a regular metre as the original form of the Poem of the Cid.

After passing in review (p. 76 ff) the various opinions advanced by critics upon the original metre of the Poem of the Cid, Menéndez Pidal expresses himself (p. 82-83) as follows with regard to this all-important¹¹ and difficult subject:

La opinión de Cornu, del metro uniformemente octosilábico, frente á los demás que admiten el metro irregular, ora con base heptasílabo, ora octosilábica, es sin duda atractiva. Es bien natural suponer que el metro propio de las narraciones populares modernas, el cual lo es también de los romances del siglo XVI y del XV, y parece predominar en los fragmentos de las Gestas de Rodrigo y de los In-

¹⁰ *Poesía heroica*, pp. 397-408.

¹¹ Cf. p. 76: "Al estudiar la versificación de nuestro Cantar, notaré con Restori que la importancia del Mio Cid, como documento métrico, supera á su importancia como poema nacional, como monumento histórico y como obra de arte."

fantes de Lara en el siglo XIV, fuese el propio de los Cantares del siglo XII, suponer, en suma, que el metro del romance *Oh Valencia, oh Valencia*, recogido de la tradición oral en el siglo XVI, y en nuestros días, fuese también el del *Cantar de Mio Cid*, del cual se deriva por tradición no interrumpida á través de ocho siglos; que el metro de las primitivas Gestas era ya el de los romances de ellas derivados. Pero por natural que parezca esta suposición, por clara que haga la historia métrica de la épica castellana, debemos desecharla para caer en la maraña de una versificación primitiva irregular, ajustada á leyes totalmente desconocidas para nosotros. No hay ninguna prueba de que el metro del *Cantar de Mio Cid* sea el del romance. Si Cornu reúne muchos hemistiquios octosílabos seguros, por estar llenos con un nombre propio, pueden citarse á su lado otros tantos hepta—ó hexa—sílabos de igual clase, á los que sólo arbitrariamente añadiríamos, como hace Cornu, una ó dos sílabas para reducirlas á la prejuzgada medida octosilábica.”

Let us first examine the reasons which the noted Spanish scholar gives for rejecting an opinion which, in his own words, would clear up the metrical history of the Castilian epic. In order to prove the assumption, indispensable for his theory, that the text of our epic as preserved must in spite of its signally disordered condition (see pp. 29-31 and 121) nevertheless be essentially that of the original, he cites (pp. 83-84) as his first argument two passages repeated in different parts of the Poem and containing hemistichs of unequal length:

The first passage (ll. 715-718; cf. 3615-3618) reads as follows:

Enbraçan los escudos delant los coraçones,
abaxan las lanças abuelas de los pendones,
enclinaron las caras de suso de los arzones,
yvan los ferir de fuertes coraçones.

Apart from the fact that such repetition of passages in different parts of a work, even if absolutely exact, does not in itself necessarily prove the existence of the metrical form illustrated by them in the original text, it must be observed in the first place that the difference in the length of the hemistichs is a rather slight one;¹² in the second place that the text of the two passages varies in the unequal half-lines, the fourth verse of the second passage reading: *batien los cauallos con los espolones*; and in the third place, that the

¹² Cf. Hanssen, *Revue de Dialect. romane*, I, p. 454.

second hemistichs of 716, 717 and 3616 are regular octosyllables. Besides, the past tenses of 717 and 3617 support Cornu's emendation (*Zeitschrift f. rom Philol.*, 21, p. 478), *enbraçaron* for *enbraçon* in 715 and 3615, and *e abaxaron* for *abaxan* in 716 and 3616 whereby regular hemistichs are formed. Our author, believing such irregularities as here exemplified not to be chargeable to the copyist, remarks:

"Si él hubiese estropeada por su cuenta el pasaje, influido por resabios de otra versificación estraña, podría tener en los oídos el hemistiquio alejandrino: "abaxaron las lanzas" (Fn. Gonzal. 308, 491, 694).

But is not this begging the question? And if our author is really so sure of the position he takes here and all through the book, one does not see the pertinency of a directly contradictory explanation which he suggests on pp. 102-103:

"Falta, pues, explicar por qué en el Rodrigo y el Cantar de los Infantes de Lara el octosilabismo es ya predominante y viene á ser regular en los romances. *Quizá siempre fué la base de la poesía popular, y sólo en una época dada, que es la del Mio Cid, por influencia de los dos metros épicos franceses, de 5 + 7 y 7 + 7, vino á imponerse la base heptasilábica, abandonada luego que aflojó esa influencia francesa.*"

The idea expressed in these lines, if not new,¹³ is a very good one, and it is much to be regretted that the author did not test its correctness in the light which the researches of the past twenty-five years have shed on the metrical history of the Peninsula. Instead of giving us the results of such a study, and drawing the necessary distinction between the effect of mere copying and deliberate recasting or abridgment upon the original form of our Poem, he tells us, e. g., p. 33: "Por lo tanto, supuesta una serie corta copias, *en ninguna de las cuales intervino para nada el menor intento de refundición poética*, el valor arqueológico de la copia actual es grande"; and p. 307: "No creemos en el metro octosilábico."

Similar observations apply to the second passage cited. The text of 735-741 is not exactly repeated in 3063-3069, and the half-lines within each passage do not vary much, 740, 3064, 3068 and 3071 ending in regular octosyllables, and 3064 being a full romance-

¹³ Cf., e. g., Morf, *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1900, p. 377.

line. Besides, according to the Spanish writer's own opinion (p. 87-89), such a line as 3069: e mio sobrino Félez Muñoz, having neither caesura nor other poetical characteristics, is foreign to the 'metrical system' of the Poem, and is therefore useless for this purpose. As for 1996, to which he refers as a duplicate of 740, it is so only in the name *Galin Garcia*(z), the rest being 'El bueno de Aragon' in one case and 'el que fo de Aragon' in the other, both epithets forming regular hemistichs which testify against our author's plea. Again, 3065 is open to the correction suggested by Cornu (l. c., 516), by making the second hemistich conform to 2324, 2927, 2934 where we find 'e aquel Muño Gustioz.' Emendations which, like these, are based upon the usage of the Poem itself, cannot be brushed aside with the remark (l. c.): 'No veo que pueda hallarse apoyo alguno para regularizar la medida de estos versos con correcciones arbitrarias,' and this all the less so when we consider that the editor himself in his *edición crítica* has changed the metre by some four hundred textual corrections, fifty per cent of which have resulted in the restoration of romance-hemistichs, and that he has torn apart syntactical units in order to obtain what he conceived to be 'un tipo de verso más abundante' (See, e. g., 1300, 1652, 1694).

It is clear then that the passages cited by the author do not justify his theory that the inequality of the hemistichs contained in them was part and parcel of the metrical form of the original composition, thus proving that the present text is essentially identical with the original text; and it is also clear that arguments such as the one just reviewed do not have the critical character required in scientific investigation.

2. The second argument reads thus (p. 84):

"Otras veces son las Crónicas las que apoyan la medida irregular, conservándonos versos ó párrafos tan semejantes á las de la copia de Per Abbat que nos impiden hacer en ella una corrección uniformadora del metro, y eso que seguramente unas Crónicas no tuvieron á la vista un texto del Cantar igual al de la copia de Per Abbat, sino una refundición del mismo, como veremos en los §§ 42-44."

As evidence of this, Menéndez Pidal offers us here, out of a total of 3730 lines, eight showing a certain verbal agreement with

passages cited from the Chronicles. Now, it is obvious that neither these instances nor the seven added on p. 1174, have the value attached to them by the Spanish writer, for the simple reason that the prose-form of the Chronicles, invaluable as these compilations are by common consent for the interpretation of our epic and of its composition especially in those parts in which they have followed its later redactions more or less closely, cannot, from the very nature of the case, serve as a reliable criterion for the exact metrical form or number of syllables of their source. And this all the less so as, upon Menéndez Pidal's own statement (see pp. 126, 129, 135 and cf. p. 33) the *Primera Crónica General* in what relates to the Cid is based upon an amplified version of the *Cantar* differing considerably from the extant redaction,¹⁴ whereas the *Crónica de Veinte Reyes*, containing a prosification of a different redaction of the Poem from 1094 to the end, condenses the text of its source.¹⁵ The two Chronicles, therefore, do not directly reflect the original text of the Poem at all. But taking the evidence presented by the Spanish critic upon its own merits, it is hardly necessary to say that such verbal agreements as he appeals to, in order to have any validity, must be exact. This requirement, however, is met by only six of the fifteen examples in question (753, 961 I, 964 I, 1068 II, 1342 I, 3362). As regards 584, 615, 1356, 2050, 3327, 3384, 3386, his own quotations show that the correspondence is not close enough to be admissible in evidence, while in the two following instances, the Chronicles have not been cited with the desirable accuracy: 479 PCG 525 a, 35-36 [et cogieronse] Fenares a arriba p. G.; 1061 *ibid.* 534 a 34-36: [Cid], mandadnos dar las bestias.¹⁶

¹⁴ It is instructive to note how Menéndez Pidal rejects (p. 672) a very acceptable restoration of 2017 based by Cornu (l. c., p. 498) on PCG, 600 b, 15-17: "Corrección violenta, para la que busca apoyo inservible en la dilatada prosa de la crónica General"; whereas, p. 130, we are told: "En el *Cantar* de las Bodas la utilidad de la comparación es como seis veces menor; no obstante, la refundición conservaba aún intactos muchos versos del primitivo *Cantar* (v. lo que decimos del v. 1352 en la p. 94, y de 1356, 2050 en la p. 84, y la nota á 2053)."

¹⁵ Another reason for the deviation of the text of the Chronicles from that of the primitive Poem lies, of course, in the change of linguistic usage in the course of a century, as e. g., in the case of the apocope of the *e* of *le* before *l* which is admitted in the Chronicles, but avoided in the Poem (cf. Menéndez Pidal, p. 251).

¹⁶ Here as elsewhere in this article, brackets mark words omitted or to be supplied.

In view of cases such as these, the number of which, as we shall see further on, might be greatly increased, one fails to see how the editor can say that the verses cited by him admit of no correction because of their approximate reproduction in the Chronicles. As a matter of fact, these documents contain fuller hemistichs than the Poem in its extant copy, offering as they do three nine-syllables (615 I, 1356 I, II)¹⁷ and five octosyllables (479 I, 585 II, 1061 I, 3328 II, 3386 I), so that the thirty lines involved in the above comparison present, apart from the three nine-syllables, fourteen octosyllables, four heptasyllables, and only nine cases of the shorter hemistichs whose existence by the side of half-lines of as many as thirteen syllables constitutes the real crux of the metrical interpretation of our epic. From every point of view, then, we must consider as untenable the argument of the Spanish critic that the Chronicles, whose exact relationship with our only extant text is still far from clear in many points, attest the metrical irregularity which characterizes the Poem as we have it, and has made it a veritable *albergo di dolore, madre d'errori*. It is manifestly not in such instances of verbal concordance as here discussed, instructive as they may be in other respects, that we must seek the real value of the Chronicles for the decision of the important question as to whether the transmitted poetical condition of the Poem reflects in substance faithfully its original form, but in the fact that on the whole they have preserved a much fuller and clearer narrative than the extant copy of the latter, thus rendering us indispensable service in the task of determining and completing the disturbed context and the sense of much of its verse,¹⁸ the restoration of which, by Menéndez Pidal as well as by his predecessors, has generally resulted in that very regularization of the metre which he would fain forbid. This result goes far to confirm the opinions expressed by the Spanish writer in his excellent work on the *Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*, as e. g., p. 415:

¹⁷ The last two of these read more like prose than like poetry and are therefore subject to doubt.

¹⁸ For Menéndez Pidal's admission of the impairment of the sense in the Poem, see e. g., pp. 26, 29-31, 121, and the notes to 14, 354, 394-398, 442, 507, 1071, 1085, 1145, 1206, 1246, 1494, 1573, 1584, 1666, 1674, 1937, 2111 of the *edición crítica*.

"De la *Crónica General* de Alfonso X solo citaremos los pasajes que más evidentemente revelan alguna serie de consonancias. Esto es lo único que podemos saber de la forma en que estaba escrito el primer Cantar de los Siete Infantes. Componíase de más ó menos largas series monorrimas de versos, de los cuales no consta el número de sílabas; *no puedo creer que fuese irregular y vario*, como sucede en el manuscrito del Poema del Cid, y *para mí la duda solo cabe entre si estos versos tenían 7 + 7 sílabas ú 8 + 8*. *Me parece más probable lo segundo*, á juzgar por la mayoría de los hemistiquios conservados en la prosa de la Crónica," and pp. 416-417: "Las anteriores líneas, si no pueden pasar nunca por una prueba, *sirven al menos para fundar la presunción de que el metro de la primera Gesta de los Infantes de Lara era octosilábico*. Tratándose del segundo Cantar, la presunción se convierte casi en evidencia; pues abundan en él los versos de ocho sílabas, algunos de los cuales entraron después, sin modificación alguna, á formar parte de los romances."¹⁹

These statements, the correctness of which has never been challenged either by the author himself²⁰ or by other scholars, are of all the more importance for the question of the original metrical form of our epic as its first redaction was posterior to that of the first *Gesta de los Infantes de Lara* which was hardly later than the second half of the eleventh century.²¹ They are therefore in strange contradiction with the next argument presented by him in favor of his theory (pp. 84-85):

3. "Hemos de concluir que tanto el juglar del siglo XII, como los refundidores del XIII, no fundaban su versificación en el cuento regular de las sílabas en los hemistiquios, sino que seguían un pro-

¹⁹ See *ibid.*, p. 418, and Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología*, II, p. 90, etc. It is worthy of note that of the five hundred and forty-two hemistichs composing the fragment of the *Leyenda* which Menéndez Pidal (*ibid.*, pp. 421-432) recovered from the Chronicles, four hundred and ninety-eight are octosyllables, twenty-eight heptasyllables, and sixteen from four to six syllables. Of the heptasyllables, the editor corrected ten to romance-hemistichs, of the four to six syllables he restored nine in the same way, so that the fragment as restored by him contains only twenty-five hemistichs other than octosyllables.

²⁰ Cf. *Romancero español* (New York, 1910), p. 17: "Por lo que á su forma se refiere, herederos también estos romances de la métrica de las Gestas, están compuestos en versos largos, de diez y seis sílabas." Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 11, and *Épopée castillane*, p. 163.

²¹ Cf., e. g., G. Paris, *La Légende des Infants de Lara*, in *Journal des Savants*, 1898, pp. 19-21; Morf, *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1900, p. 377.

cedimiento amétrico, que sin duda era popular.²² Tenemos una muestra de un fragmento de canto amétrico tradicional, recordado en ambos Cantares del Cid, verdad es que con variantes enormes, fruto de su transmisión secular. En el Mio Cid aparece así, aplicado á Alfonso VI:

2923 Rey es de Castiella e rey es de León
e de las Asturias bien a San Çalvador,
fasta dentro en Santi Yaguo de todo es señor
ellos condes gallizanos a el tienen por Señor.

En el Cantar de las Mocedades de Rodrigo aparece en forma acaso más primitiva, aplicado al padre de Alfonso, á Fernando I:

759 Mandó a Castilla vieja e mandó a Leon
e mandó a las Esturias fasta en Sant Salvador,
mandó a Galicia, onde los cavalleros son. . . .
e corrió a Sevilla tres veces en una sazón. . . .
a pesar de franceses los puertos de Aspa passó.

Sería inexplicable que los copistas de los dos cantares estropeasen totalmente el sencillo metro octosilábico con que más tarde aparecen estos versos en los romances, aplicados á otro hijo de Fernando I, á Sancho el de Zamora" (*Primavera* núm. 33. comp. 39).

The learned critic properly admits that his two extracts exhibit startling differences of form due to the ravages of time, but he overlooks the fact that for this very reason they cannot serve as reliable specimens of any particular form of poetry, whether ametrical or other. The passage in the copy of Per Abbat, at best rather inapposite there,²³ disagrees in the form and phrasing of every line with the one of the *Rodrigo* which, be it remembered, has eleven verses instead of the five cited here. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología* II, 324 and 338, shares Milá y Fontanal's opinion, l. c., p. 261, that this fragment of a rather lyric character, originally part of the introduction of an epic on King Ferdinand I of Castile, is unquestionably the oldest of the diverse materials making up the *Rodrigo* or *Crónica rimada*.

²² Compare with this statement the one on p. 129: "El refundidor añadió "amidos, mas si Dios me diese consejo, yo gelo enmendaré e gelo pechare todo" PCG, 524 ab). How are we to explain the use of the *romance* metre here if the *refundidor* did not consider it the normal metre of the epic?

²³ Cf. Milá y Fontanals, *Poesía heroica*, p. 249, note 2; Amador de los Ríos, *Historia crítica*, 3, p. 206. Menéndez Pidal, p. 27, note 1, conjectures that these verses may represent the lyric refrain of a song celebrating the union of Castile and Leon.

On what precise grounds these verses are to be taken as examples of a traditional ametrical class of song,²⁴ and just what is to be understood by this term, we are not informed either here or elsewhere in the work before us. There are fairly clear indications, however, that the author did not have in mind the characteristic trait of Hispanic versification so well known from the description of the *verso de arte mayor* by Juan del Encina²⁵ and Nebrija²⁶ and from the valuable studies of Hanssen²⁷ on the *Poema de Fernán González* and the verse of Juan Ruiz and López de Ayala, but rather the excessive irregularity of hemistichs varying between four and thirteen syllables warranted only by the admittedly corrupt transcript in which our Poem is preserved. Menéndez Pidal (p. 80, note 3) dismisses with a mere repetition of Morel-Fatio's dictum (*Romania*, 34, p. 312),²⁸ Saroïhandy's suggestion that the *medio pié perdido* of the *verso de arte mayor* may have had its place in the epic verse of Castile, a suggestion the careful consideration of which might have prevented his leap into the "maraña de una versificación primitiva irregular, ajustada á leyes totalmente desconocidas para nosotros." In rejecting (p. 32) very justly Cornu's theory of the oral instead of chiefly written transmission of the Poem, he says: "*Quién carezca por completo de oído para la versificación, no aprenderá de memoria un largo poema; y si lo aprendiera, y tratará de transcribirlo, lo haría en forma de prosa, sin intentar sujetarse á unas leyes métricas que no comprendía ni poco ni mucho.*"²⁹ As another unmistakable proof of this we may mention the fact that his *edición crítica* contains not a few hemistichs of his own

²⁴ Let it be noted that, pp. 102-103, the Spanish critic expresses the opinion that from the excessive irregularity of the verses of the Poem it is to be inferred that they were not sung at all, "sino que se acompañasen de un simple tonillo de recitado." Cf. Milá y Fontanals, *l. c.*, p. 397, where the same idea is expressed.

²⁵ See Menéndez y Pelayo's *Antología*, 5, pp. 40-42 (cap. 5).

²⁶ See *ibid.*, pp. 66-68 (cap. 0).

²⁷ *Miscelánea de Versificación castellana*, Santiago de Chile, 1897; *Zur spanischen und portugiesischen Metrik*, Valparaíso, 1900; *Los Metros de los Cantares de Juan Ruiz*, Santiago, 1902; *El Metro del Poema de Fernán González*, 1904.

²⁸ Had Morel-Fatio been acquainted with Hanssen's investigations or with the facts mentioned by Beck, *Mémoires des Troubadours*, pp. 166-168, he would hardly have said that the origin of the *medio pié perdido* was yet to be explained.

²⁹ Cf. pp. 103-104: "*Si el metro del Cantar es todo confusiones, por el contrario, el asonante se presta á un estudio más útil, á pesar de lo muy estropeado que está por el copista,*" etc.

creation ranging in length from five to thirteen syllables, even though the text of the Chronicle consulted or the syntax of the verse clearly points to greater regularity of form. Thus after line 14 we find the verse:

Mas a grand ondra | tornaremos a Castiella,

supplied from PCG. 523 b 25: "bien sepades por cierto que tornaremos a Castiella con grand onrra et grand ganancia, si Dios quisiere," with disregard of the words *et ganancia* which would have completed the romance-hemistich as well as the sense.⁸⁰ Again, 995 is divided as follows:

Ciento cavalleros | devemos vencer aquellas mesnadas

whereas *devemos* obviously belongs to the first half-line which by the substitution of *cient* for *ciento*⁸¹ becomes a regular octosyllable. (Cf. Cornu, p. 482.)⁸² Or again 3015:

Al quinto dia | venido es mio Cid el Campeador,

a cut which obscures two clearly marked parts, the second of which is a standing epic formula regularly forming a hemistich by itself.⁸³

From what has been said it is apparent that what the Spanish investigator understands by ametrical song is not exemplified by the two extracts cited from our Poem and from the *Rodrigo* which, with the exception of one hexasyllable in each, show a metrical structure not infrequent in both epics. Beside regular romance-lines, the one and the other poem have verses in which octosyllables combine with heptasyllables as in the examples of the *mester de clerecía* quoted above.

In the copy of Per Abbat there are some 430 pentasyllables

⁸⁰ Other instances will have to be mentioned further on.

⁸¹ P. 205 we read: "El numeral *ciento* no sufre apócope como hoy, si no en el caso único *cient cavallos* 1336"; but in point of fact, our text proves the very opposite of this statement, *cient* being the *regular* form before nouns, as 513, 805, 1129, 1234, 1274, 1743, and the passage of the PCG (533 a 45) corresponding to our verse also having *cient*.

⁸² Cases like these are all the more remarkable as the editor, in contradiction with his plea that we do not know the laws of the versification illustrated by the extant Poem, frequently proposes to *aligerar* a hemistich, on account of what he considers its excessive length. Cf. notes to 461, 1153, 1495, 1719, 3486, and pp. 87 and 294-295.

⁸³ Other examples of faulty division of verses will be considered in the discussion of the editor's methods of text-criticism.

(= 5.75 % of the total number of 7460 hemistichs),⁸⁴ 140 of which combine with heptasyllables in a line resembling the metre of the *Chanson de Roland*.⁸⁵ In the *Rodrigo*, however, which, as Menéndez Pidal himself several times admits in agreement with other critics,⁸⁶ is characterized by the decided predominance of the *ro-*

⁸⁴ Our method of counting syllables will be explained in the second part of this article. Suffice it to say here that the text has been taken exactly as handed down, and that synaloephe is excluded. The numbers in italics represent the combination 5 + 7. The roman figures I, II denote the place of the hemistich; the numeration of the lines is that of the *edición crítica*.

I. 1, 5, 16, 24, 33, 35, 43, 60, 63, 68, 69, 78, 82, 97, 100, 104, 105, 106, 111, 113, 114, 119, 122, 123, 132, 135, 138, 145, 212, 227, 248, 268, 269, 271, 272, 273, 280, 282, 290, 292, 295, 299, 303, 308, 313, 315, 316, 317, 356, 393, 406, 437, 446, 447, 457, 458, 459, 465, 468, 469, 470, 471, 474, 481, 482, 492, 494, 496, 505, 508, 510, 511, 512, 515, 523, 524, 527, 531, 533, 544, 571, 648, 661, 727, 728, 737, 738, 740, 741, 745, 747, 757, 760, 761, 763, 764, 767, 768, 772, 773, 779, 782, 783, 786, 791, 792, 796, 800, 802, 807, 808, 809, 810, 812, 814, 817, 818, 826b, 832, 839, 847, 851, 852, 853, 856, 857, 865, 866, 874, 881-883, 886, 888, 897, 898, 905, 910, 914, 918, 924, 934, 935, 938, 941, 947, 985, 1015, 1031, 1033, 1035, 1039, 1102b, 1109, 1111, 1113, 1115, 1118, 1122, 1127, 1130, 1131, 1132, 1135, 1137, 1143, 1146, 1148, 1287, 1432, 1441, 1456, 1489, 1490, 1494, 1602, 1606, 1608, 1609, 1612, 1613, 1615, 1616, 1617, 1646, 1703, 1725, 1735, 1753, 1806, 1844, 1889, 1892, 1896, 1898, 1899, 1905, 1906, 1912, 1913, 1916, 1922, 1923, 1925-1927, 1928, 1932, 1933, 1943, 1949, 1955, 1956, 1959, 1960, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1968, 1971, 1972, 1978, 1983, 1984, 1986, 1990, 1992, 1995, 1996, 2005, 2007, 2008, 2019, 2028, 2030, 2032, 2039, 2040, 2042, 2057, 2120, 2146, 2128, 2160, 2182, 2286, 2288, 2319, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2361b, 2362, 2363, 2367, 2377, 2378, 2390, 2398, 2423, 2425, 2434, 2435, 2455, 2439, 2441, 2457, 2460, 2462, 2474, 2476, 2477, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2493, 2496, 2501, 2514, 2515, 2521, 2522, 2551, 2563, 2584, 2592, 2634, 2695, 2714, 2720, 2765, 2771, 2783, 2790, 2796, 2798, 2799, 2807, 2813, 2818, 2828, 2830, 2834, 2835b, 2841, 2844, 2845, 2917, 2921, 2934, 2957, 2977, 2984, 2991, 2996, 3012, 3014, 3018, 3020, 3023, 3025, 3026, 3028, 3035, 3043, 3045, 3046, 3048, 3049, 3052, 3058, 3069, 3078, 3093, 3106, 3128, 3131, 3189, 3192, 3216b, 3236, 3262, 3271, 3272, 3281, 3291, 3292, 3300, 3303, 3304, 3306, 3309, 3311, 3312, 3318b, 3320, 3322, 3328, 3332, 3341, 3343, 3348, 3352, 3353, 3356, 3358, 3363, 3365, 3366, 3368, 3373, 3374, 3375, 3384, 3387, 3397, 3398, 3407, 3410, 3411, 3421, 3427, 3430, 3433, 3434, 3435, 3445, 3457, 3458, 3461, 3462, 3463, 3467, 3471, 3477, 3486, 3534, 3579, 3586, 3608, 3623, 3627, 3674, 3676, 3682, 3688.

II. 447, 554, 748, 954, 1014, 1697, 1935, 2303, 2527, 2990, 3069, 3216, 3392.

⁸⁵ In his discussion of this combination (p. 86) Menéndez Pidal says that it is not very frequent in our Poem, although more so than the *romance*-line. This is not correct, as the number of tetrameters is 267.

⁸⁶ Cf. *Infantes de Lara*, p. 418; also in the work before us, p. 101; Baist, *Grundriss*, II, 2, p. 389; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología*, II, pp. 90, 337-338. It is interesting to note that Milá y Fontanals, *l. c.*, p. 254, ascribes the metrical irregularity of the *Rodrigo* not to the compiler, but to the carelessness of the copyist, whereas, pp. 397 ff., 435, 467, he attributes the irregularity of the hemi-

mance-verse, the French decasyllable is almost entirely absent and its first hemistich rare.⁸⁷ This fact is all the more noteworthy as the text of the *Rodrigo* is admittedly preserved in an even more deplorable condition than that of our Poem.⁸⁸

4. Menéndez Pidal continues:

"Habría que dar una razón de por qué lo mismo el Cantar de Mio Cid, que el de Rodrigo, que el de los Infantes de Lara, es decir, los tres únicos restos conocidos de la antigua poesía épica castellana, se nos transmitieron en copias tales que no se puede descubrir de ningún modo en ellas un metro dado, mientras se deja descubrir bien en los malos manuscritos del poema de Fernán González ó del Rimado de Palacio."

As regards the songs on the Infantes de Lara and the Rodrigo, the author has already been found in direct contradiction with his own deliberate judgment stated in publications both prior and contemporary with the present work. Let us add here a passage from p. 101: "En el Rodrigo y el Cantar de los Infantes de Lara el octosilabismo es ya predominante." As for the Poem of the Cid, his position is hardly more tenable. P. 28, note 1 we hear of "los pocos octosílabos del Cantar; p. 32 we are informed that one and the same metre is represented by at most 15 % of the total number of hemistichs; p. 99, however, we learn that over 39 % are heptasyllables, 24 % octosyllables, 18 % hexasyllables, and some 13 % five- and nine-syllables. Instead of these conflicting statements, a more careful account of the facts, based upon a critical study of the various questions involved in the determination of the metrical status of the received text, such as hiatus, contraction, elision, and the poetical tradition of the whole of the Spanish peninsula, would have been welcomed by the scientific student. Unfortunately, such a study is entirely wanting, nor is even a serious effort apparent to disprove the opinions of such critics as Baist and Cornu, according to whom stichs in the *Poem of the Cid* to the poet, charging to the account of the copyist only the interruption of the assonance-series and the cases of blank-verse. In this view, as indeed in most others concerning the subject under discussion, he is followed by Menéndez Pidal.

⁸⁷ Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *l. c.*, p. 90. According to my count, there are sixteen pentasyllables in the *Rodrigo*, many of which demand correction, and only *one* instance (703) of the combination 5+7. Of other short lines, there are three four-syllables and thirty-nine hexasyllables.

⁸⁸ Cf. Baist, *l. c.*; Menéndez y Pelayo, *l. c.*, pp. 90, 337-338.

the octosyllable occurs approximately as often as the heptasyllable,⁴⁰ in the proportion of one third of the whole. This estimate, as will appear later, is substantially correct, and consequently disposes of the charge that no specific measure can in any way be discerned in the Poem as we have it. We must also question the justice of the comparison drawn between the unique and poorly preserved copy of the only extant national epic and the poems on Fernan Gonzalez and the *Rimado de Palacio*, examples these of the *cuaderna vía*⁴¹ in vogue among the learned circles a half a century after the composition of the masterly song on the Cid. The metre of this didactic school from the very nature of the case had a better chance of preservation than that of the representative of a declining art. And yet the true inwardness of the *mester de clerecía* does not seem to be quite so clear to Menéndez Pidal as one might expect from his remarks. Not less than one fourth of the supposed regular hemistichs of the Alexandrine-type in the *Poema de Fernan Gonzalez* are octosyllables.⁴² In his meritorious edition of this work⁴³ Professor Marden very skillfully converted these into half-Alexan-

³⁹ An idea of Menéndez Pidal's method of determining what (pp. 89 and 111) he calls "el sistema métrico del Cantar" may for the present be obtained from the following utterance of his (p. 86): "He medido de ella (i. e., de la copia de Per Abbat) *todos los versos que no ofrecen hiatos ni otras dudas prosódicas*, que de ningún modo podremos resolver." Cf. also *ibid.*, note 2, and pp. 95, 97, 161-162. We see from this that in this respect he is still in the position occupied by Milá y Fontanals in his *Poesía heroica*, 1874, p. 443: "Ignoramos los casos en que el hiato se quiso ó no cometer."

⁴⁰ Baist, *Grundriss*, II, 2, p. 389: "Der Vierzehner . . . liest sich glatt im Poema annähernd ebenso oft als der Alexandriner, lässt sich, als der längere, noch häufiger bequem rekonstruieren"; Cornu, *Literaturblatt*, 1897, p. 324: "Gute erste Halbzeilen gibt es nach meiner Zählung 800, gute zweite Halbzeilen gibt es 1350; $800 + 1350 = 2150$."

⁴¹ In replying (p. 1174) to Hanssen's question why the singer of the *Poem of the Cid* should not have counted syllables as easily as the contemporary author of the *Mysterio*, Menéndez Pidal urges the difference between the minstrel's and the clerk's art as an objection to such comparison; yet in almost the same breath he appeals to the unedited *Disputa de Helena y Maria*, a clerkly work, as a confirmation of his theory of irregular versification as an original characteristic of our Poem.

⁴² Cf. Hanssen, *Poema de Fernan Gonzales*, pp. 8-19; Zauner, *Litblatt.*, 1905, pp. 28-29. The present writer has verified the correctness of the estimates made by these scholars.

⁴³ Baltimore, 1904.

drines, with the exception of 143 cases which, as he frankly confesses (p. LII), proved irreducible, partly owing to their being epic formulae. In view of this, one cannot but be struck with the fact that in his minute review⁴⁴ of Marden's edition, Menéndez Pidal, instead of recognizing, and endeavoring to account for, this notable trait of the versification of this text, does not mention the octosyllable at all, contenting himself with such remarks as (p. 244): "la métrica implacablemente estropeada por el copista del siglo XV" and (p. 250) "muy raro es el verso que no pide algún re- toque." He mistakes for mere scribal errors verse-forms which Ford⁴⁵ is tempted to consider as remnants of an earlier *cantar de gesta* and Hanssen in the treatises cited above (p. 8) has for years been interpreting as the result of the use of anacrusis, found also in the native types of verse of the Gallego-Portuguese School and in Latin hymnal poetry.⁴⁶ From this it would appear as if the copy of Per Abbat were not exclusively to blame for Menéndez Pidal's inability to discern a specific metre in it.

5. In connection with the argument just reviewed, Menéndez Pidal remarks that while the fragments of the song on the Infantes de Lara discernible in the Chronicle preserve the assonances and even paragoge fairly well, they do not transmit to us a regular metre, and consequently permit the conclusion "que la versificación de la épica castellana poseyó antes el asonante, y aun la paragoge, que una medida regular."⁴⁷

The question as to whether or not the Chronicles contain clear

⁴⁴ See *Archiv f. d. Stud. der N. S.*, 1905 (vol. 114), pp. 243-257.

⁴⁵ *Old Spanish Readings*, Boston, 1911, p. 142.

⁴⁶ See Hanssen, *Zur span. u. portug. Metrik*, pp. 34 ff., 53 ff., 63-64; also now *Bulletin de Dialect. romane*, IV, pp. 136-137. Hanssen does not assume historical connection between Hispanic and Latin procatalexis, but there seems to be no sufficient reason for doubting it in view of the Latin instances cited by W. Meyer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen z. Mittellat. Rythmik*, I, pp. 176, 178, 187, 208, 214, etc., and especially in view of the concurrence of Hispanic and Latin metrics in other important respects (see section 5 of this article).

⁴⁷ The same opinion is expressed elsewhere in his book, as pp. 103-4: "El estudio del asonante nos permitirá, lo que no el del metro, descubrir ciertos principios fijos á que se atenia el poeta. Esta diferencia vendrá á confirmarnos la idea de que en el desarrollo del verso épico castellano, el asonante se regularizó mucho antes que el metro; el asonante fué desde un comienzo el elemento artístico esencial, mientras el metro no fué imponiéndose sino de una manera lenta é inconsciente."

traces of a regular metre has already been answered.⁴⁸ As for the statement that assonance and paragoge are much better preserved than any given measure, it may suffice to say that, as is generally understood by critics, the very character of this poetic element protects it mostly from the disturbing influences, whether linguistic or other, to which the remaining twelve or more syllables of a verse are exposed in the process of turning poetry into prose. Nothing more natural, therefore, than that a prose-redaction should preserve assonance more frequently than the precise number of syllables essential to the strictness of the metrical form used in its source; nor anything more irrational than the inference that in the versification of the Castilian epic, assonance existed prior to a regular rhythm or metre.

This conclusion is in direct contradiction with the unanimous testimony presented by the comparative study of poetry.

Without referring here to the case of nations who, like the Greeks and Romans, used neither assonance nor rhyme as a metrical principle of their verse, we shall confine ourselves to a brief survey of the conditions found among peoples who are still in the unprofessional, or popular stage of poetic art, and with whom poetry is therefore the expression of social consent, not of the individual, as in a highly developed society. In his capital work on *Arbeit und Rythmus*⁴⁹ the German sociologist Karl Bücher shows how primitive labor, which probably called forth poetical expression in some of its oldest forms, must have contributed to produce that exactness of rhythm which is the key-note of primitive poetry. Identical results are recorded by Gummere in his comprehensive study of the "*Beginnings of Poetry*."⁵⁰ "Rhythm," he says (p. 78) "is the prime characteristic, the essential condition, of the

⁴⁸ In view of the theories here advanced, it will be of especial interest to see what will be the metrical form of the epic on King Ferdinand which Menéndez Pidal has for some years promised to restore from the Chronicle of 1344 and other documents (see Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología*, II (1903), p. 324, and Menéndez Pidal, *Epopee Castillane*, p. 58, note 1).

⁴⁹ Leipzig, 2d ed., 1899, p. 306: "Wir werden darum, um nicht gegen den Sprachgebrauch zu verstossen, sagen müssen: es ist die energische rhythmische Körperbewegung, die zur Entstehung der Poesie geführt hat, insbesondere diejenige Bewegung, welche wir Arbeit nennen. Es gilt dies aber ebensowohl von der formellen als von der materiellen Seite der Poesie."

⁵⁰ New York, 1908.

dance, and oldest poetry is by common consent found in close alliance with dance and song"; and again (p. 93) "dance, song, and poetry itself begin with a communal consent, which is expressed by the most exact rhythm." There is no indication that recitative and assonance or rhyme were anywhere followed, instead of being preceded, by the formation of a strict rhythm or metre.⁵¹ It is in accord with this fundamental fact that primitive poetry is the collective expression of a people still characterized by uniformity of intellectual life, that whether a poem be the heroic lay of a minstrel or the lyric quatrain in which a Tuscan milk-maid gives utterance to the "discorde voler che in due cor miri," it is a work of art in form as well as in poetic imagination. With this concert of communal dance and song the poetical tradition of no country is in more perfect harmony than that of the Spanish Peninsula. Here such time-honored customs as the religious *danza de los seises* in the Cathedral of Seville,⁵² or the Aragonese *jota*⁵³ and the Asturian *danza prima*,⁵⁴ both of symbolic meaning, still bear witness to the choral and ritual character of this art in the past⁵⁵ and to the mastery of an exact rhythm or metre as the birthright of the popular singer. The *danza prima*, still the most prominent of such communal practices in Asturia, is of especial importance for the subject in hand.

As the learned Juan Menéndez Pidal tells us in his valuable collection of Asturian folksong (p. 65),⁵⁶ this dance is performed on religious holidays by two choruses, one of men and one of women, accompanying their steps with ballads and the invocation of saints. Its remote antiquity is generally, and not without good

⁵¹ Cf. Gummere, *l. c.*, p. 69: Who, for example, is going to believe that rhyme and alliteration were developed before regular rhythm?

⁵² See Simón de la Rosa's work on "*Los Seises de la Catedral de Sevilla*," Sevilla, 1904.

⁵³ R. Salillas, *Hampa (Antropología picaresca)*, Madrid, 1898.

⁵⁴ See Duran, *Romancero Gen.*, 1², p. lxvi; Wolf, *Studien*, pp. 739-740, and the works cited below, in note 56.

⁵⁵ Cf. Salillas, *l. c.*

⁵⁶ *Poesía popular*. Colección de los viejos romances que se cantan por los Asturianos en la *danza prima*, etc. Madrid, 1885. Cf. also *Obras de Jovellanos*, in the *Biblioteca* of Rivadeneyra, 2, p. 299 ff., cited by Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología*, 10, p. 9 ff.

reason, inferred from its warlike symbolism,⁵⁷ but is more positively attested by the fact, usually overlooked by Spanish critics, though recognized long ago by Wolf and others,⁵⁸ that the song most closely connected with this ancient usage⁵⁹ agrees both in theme and strophic form with some fifty compositions of a primitive popular type lifted into the realm of literature by the Gallego-Portuguese School (1175-1350). It will be necessary for our purpose to sum up here, as briefly as possible, the proof for such identification offered by the present writer some years ago.⁶⁰

The first twelve octosyllables of this now incomplete Asturian *romance*⁶¹ read as follows in the version given by Juan Menéndez Pidal:⁶²

¡Ay! un galan d'esta villa,
 ¡ay! un galan d'esta casa
 ¡ay! él por aquí venía,
 ¡ay! el por aquí llegaba,
 ¡Ay! diga lo qu'el quería,
 ¡ay! diga lo qu'el buscaba.
 Ay! busco la blanca niña,
 ay! busco la niña blanca
 que tiene voz delgadina,
 que tiene la voz delgada;
 la que el cabello tejía,
 la que el cabello trenzaba.

⁵⁷ See e. g., Amador de los Ríos, *Jahrbuch*, 3, 274: la *danza prima*, cuya antigüedad se remonta á los más lejanos siglos, y cuya indole guerrera revelan todavía las enhiestas pertigas de que aparecen armados los danzadores, y el belicoso grito de *Ijujú*. Cf. also J. Menéndez Pidal, *l. c.*, pp. 68-69, who quotes passages from Strabo, l. III, 3 and 7, which may, or may not, refer to this particular dance.

⁵⁸ Wolf, *Studien* (1859), pp. 739-740; Jeanroy, *Origines de la poésie lyrique en France* (1889), p. 417.

⁵⁹ J. Menéndez Pidal, *l. c.*; Menéndez y Pelayo, *l. c.*, p. 82: "He aquí el romance más famoso y popular de Asturias, el que sirve de tiempo inmemorial para acompañar la *danza prima*."

⁶⁰ *Liederbuch des Königs Denis*, Halle, 1894, pp. xcii-c.

⁶¹ It is obvious that this lyric-dramatic piece is not a *romance* in the strict acceptation of the term, and Menéndez y Pelayo was wrong in arranging in full *romance*-lines every two parallel octosyllables, marked as they are by different assonances and by an identical end-rhyme (see *l. c.*, pp. 79-82).

⁶² *L. c.*, pp. 147-148.

Each line sung by one chorus is at once repeated by the other with no change except in the assonance-word ending in the vowel-sequence *á-a* instead of *í-a*. In lieu of this more archaic single verse or phrase, Gallego-Portuguese tradition records a stanza of usually two lines with a refrain, the second verse of the first distich being resumed as the first verse of the third. Thus in the charming appeal of a forlorn maiden to the sweet whispering pine (*Canc-Vat.*, 171 = *Liederbuch*, XCII):

Ai flores, ai flores do verde pino!
se sabedes novas do meu amigo?
Ai Deus, e u é?

Ai flores, ai f(o)lores do verde ramo!
se sabedes novas do meu amado?
Ai Deus, e u é?

Se sabedes novas do meu amigo,
aquele que mentiu do que pos connigo?
Ai Deus, e u é? etc.

While the Asturian lay just described is in the octosyllabic measure, a fragment of another traditional song,⁶³ preserved in the same region, and of identical structure, is in the rhythm of the Galician *muñeira*, an anapestic hendecasyllable⁶⁴ which Hanssen⁶⁵ rightly considers closely related to a class of twelve-syllable employed by the Gallego-Portuguese lyrists and to the Spanish *verso de arte mayor*. Nothing can show better than the history of this verse, with its regulated variability between eight and twelve syllables, how the close alliance between dance and song in the Spanish Peninsula influenced the metrical habits of the Hispanic poet.⁶⁶

We see then that the parallelism of theme and form, and the assonance-formulas, such as *amiga-amada*, *camisa-delgada*, *blanca niña-niña blanca*, *vivo-sano* and many others, which our Asturian

⁶³ See J. Menéndez Pidal, *l. c.*, p. 245; Menéndez y Pelayo, *l. c.*, p. 241.

⁶⁴ So called by Milá y Fontanals, *Obras*, 3, 240.

⁶⁵ See *Liederbuch*, pp. cxiii ff.; Hanssen, *Zur span. u. portug. Metrik*, §§ 3, 6, 10.

⁶⁶ This is not to say that the addition or suppression of an initial syllable which characterizes the hemistichs of the *verso de arte mayor* is confined to Spanish metrics. See, e. g., Beck, *Melodien der Troubadours*, pp. 166-168.

ballads share with the archaic types cultivated by the Gallego-Portuguese troubadours,⁶⁷ prove them to be in substance the afterglow of a truly popular poetry centering round the primitive religious and rural life—*agrestis enim tum musa vigeat*, as Lucretius has it—of the Northwestern part of the Peninsula, and flourishing long before it ripened into a self-conscious art about the middle of the twelfth century. This in itself makes it clear that the mastery of such metres as the octosyllable and the prototype of the *verso de arte mayor* which, amongst other regular measures of national character, occur in the narrative and lyric compositions of the Gallego-Portuguese School,⁶⁸ cannot have been strange to the gifted author of the *Poema del Cid*.

There is, however, still another distinctive trait of these Asturian lays which the student of metrical art in Spain cannot afford to neglect. Beside the assonances or rhymes in *i-a* and *á-a* or *i-o* and *á-o* which distinguish the themes of the two choruses, there is a rhyme common to all the lines of each piece, and consisting in the atonic final *a* of the one, and *o* of the other. Thus a dissyllabic alternating rhyme is accompanied by a monosyllabic continuous or single rhyme. This combination of a common rhyme in the atonic final syllable of the verse with a special rhyme in the accented penultimate is characteristic of the primitive forms of Galicia⁶⁹ and was doubtless, as Hanssen was the first to show,⁷⁰ received from Latin hymnal and popular poetry.⁷¹ It is first noticed, though not

⁶⁷ For other evidence of the continuity of this tradition in Spain, and also of its existence elsewhere, see *Liederbuch*, pp. xcii-c and cxxxviii-cxlii; *Bausteine z. rom. Philol.*, 1905, pp. 29-30; *Cancionero Musical*, ed. Barbieri, nos. 6, 17, 18, 50, 401, 437. Cf. also C. M. de Vasconcellos, *Cancioneiro da Ajuda*, II, pp. 836-940.

⁶⁸ See *Liederbuch*, pp. cx-cxiv. Examples of the regular combination of two octosyllables in a romance-line are, e. g., *Canc. Vat.*, no. 903; *Canc. CB.*, nos. 114, 464, 466, the last two belonging to the very beginning of the thirteenth century. For the abundant use of the tetrameter by Alphonse X, see Hanssen, *Metrische Stud. zu Alfonso u. Berceo*, Valparaíso, 1903, p. 20.

⁶⁹ In a modified way, it appears even in the less primitive forms of the *Cantiga d'amigo*, as in *CCB.*, no. 147, by Pay Soares de Taveiros, one of the very earliest troubadours, and *CV.*, no. 97 (= *Liederbuch*, XVIII). For regular instances, see, e. g., *CV.*, 168-173, 192, 195, 761, 884-889, 414, 755.

⁷⁰ *Zur latein. u. roman. Metrik*, Valparaíso, 1901, pp. 5-19.

⁷¹ Baist was consequently in error when, in speaking of the metre in the *Poema del Cid* (*Grundriss*, II², p. 389), he said: "Es ist wenig einleuchtend dass Strophenlosigkeit und Assonanz, nur halb gestützt durch die lateinische

with entire regularity, in the trochaic tetrameters of St. Augustine's poem against the Donatists,⁷² the refrain of which betrays popular influence. Thus the poetic tradition of Asturia and Galicia, in this respect as in many others more archaic than that of other parts of the Romance domain, has preserved to us, as Hanssen observes,⁷³ the link between the dissyllabic rhyme of Romance literature, which depends on the last accented syllable of a verse, and the oldest known type of Latin rhyme, which is formed by the concordance of the last, accented or unaccented, syllable of the lines of a composition. This oldest kind of rhyme in Neo-Latin tradition is first seen in the hexameter of two poems of Commodian which doubtless reflect a metrical form of Vulgar-Latin poetry.⁷⁴ The difference between Latin and Romance rhyme thus proves to be the consequence of a different way of counting the syllables of a verse, the character of the Latin verse being determined not by the receding quantitative principle of the classical language, but by the number of syllables it had inclusive of the last without regard to the accent, while the character of the Romance verse is determined by its last accented syllable. A survival of the Vulgar-Latin principle may be seen in the fact that the Provençal and, more frequently, the Gallego-Portuguese poet,⁷⁵ in accord with Latin hymnology, allows verses of feminine and masculine ending to count alike, thus using a trochaic line as the equivalent of an iambic.⁷⁶

The facts here recorded directly disprove the theory, improbable enough on general principles, that in the versification of the Castilian epic assonance preceded the formation of a regular metre; Reimprosa, aber im Gegensatz zur Kirchenpoesie, die Araberzeit überwunden haben sollten."

⁷² See Du Méril, *Poésies pop. lat. antérieures au douzième siècle*, p. 121; Ebert, *Allg. Gesch. der Lit. des Mittelalters*, I, p. 251; Hanssen, *l. c.*

⁷³ *L. c.*, p. 20.

⁷⁴ See Dombart, *Commodiani Carmina. Corpus script. eccles.*, XV, 1887; L. Vernier, *Notes sur Commodien*, in *Revue de Philologie, N. S.*, XV, pp. 14-33, and 117-130; J. Cornu, *Zu Commodian*, in *Bausteine z. rom. Philol.*, p. 563 ff. Cf. Stengel, *Grundriss*, II, 2, p. 25.

⁷⁵ For the identical usage observable in the work of Juan Ruiz, see Hanssen, *Los Metros de los Cantares de Juan Ruiz*, 1902, p. 31 ff.

⁷⁶ See Tobler, *Archiv f. d. Stud. der N. Sp.*, 1895, p. 473; Mussafia, *Trans. Vienna Acad. of Sciences, Histor. Phil. Cl.*, vol. 133 (1905), p. 2 ff.; C. M. de Vasconcellos, *Litblatt.*, 17 (1896), pp. 308-318; *Krit. Jahresber.*, IV, p. 380 ff.; Hanssen, *Miscelánea de Versif. cast.*, p. 40 ff.

and from the especially close relationship revealed by them between Latin metrics, both popular and hymnal, and that of the traditional poetry of Northwestern Spain and Northern Portugal, it is apparent that the testimony of the latter, incomparably richer and better preserved than that of any other region of the Peninsula, and in a measure still renewing itself in the living word, must be carefully consulted by the critical student of Hispanic poetry.⁷⁷ It does not support the opinion of Baist⁷⁸ that the astrophic series or *tirade* and the assonance of the Spanish epic must have been borrowed from France, nor the assertion of Menéndez y Pelayo,⁷⁹ followed among others by Menéndez Pidal, that the heroic and national verse of Spain has no direct connection with the Vulgar-Latin trochaic tetrameter, but was preceded "por otro verso épico ó sistema de líneas largas, cuya verdadera métrica es todavía un problema que bien puede llamarse *crux ingeniorum*." It is now a well-established fact⁸⁰ that the idiom and poetic types of the Gallego-Portuguese lyric served as the primitive instrument of lyric expression in Central and Western Spain from the second half of the twelfth century⁸¹ to the middle of the fourteenth. Is it then not a legitimate assumption that this same tradition of the Northwest followed in the wake of the heroic hosts reconquering the lost ground, so that when the victories of the Cross stirred the epic spirit to an eager beating of its wings, and the rhapsodes of Western Castile began the poetic activity which ended with the *Poem of the Cid*, the appropriate metrical form, the ballad-verse, was at hand?

⁷⁷ This view was fully shared by the late Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología*, 3, p. XLIII ff., but his treatment of the vexed question of the metre of the Spanish epic shows no conformance with it.

⁷⁸ *Grundriss*, II², p. 389.

⁷⁹ *Antología*, II, pp. 126-127; cf. also Baist, *l. c.*, pp. 389-390. The continuation of this Latin metre in Romance tradition may be considered a well-established fact. Jeanroy, *Origines de la poésie lyrique en France*, after pointing out (p. 345 ff.) its use by the earliest Provençal poet and especially in Old French folk-songs, says (pp. 348-349): "Ils (i. e., les vers de onze et de quinze syllabes) nous paraissent constituer un sérieux argument en faveur de l'opinion qui veut rattacher nos vers français à la versification latine rythmique, et en particulier au tétramètre trochaïque catalectique"; G. Paris, *Journal des Savants*, 1898, p. 14, identifies the Spanish ballad-line, and Morf, *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1900, p. 377, the verse of the North Italian minstrel with the Latin tetrameter.

⁸⁰ Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *l. c.*; *Liederbuch*, p. I ff.

⁸¹ See *Liederbuch*, p. XXV ff.; *Modern Lang. Notes* 10 (1905), p. 209 ff.

As a final argument in favor of his theory of the priority of assonance to a regular metre in the versification of the Castilian epic, our author, repeating a statement of Baist's (*Grundriss* II, 2, p. 390), cites the naive boast of the writer of the *Libro de Alexandre* that his single-rhyme quatrain is composed in the faultless style of counted syllables, in contrast to the *mester de joglaria*; whereupon he continues (p. 86) :

"Lo mismo que el tardío copista del Cantar de los Infantes de Lara, el más antiguo del de Mio Cid, conserva bastante bien la asonancia. De los 3730 versos de la copia de Per Abbat, hay sólo unos 242 estropeados en su terminación, como luego veremos; es decir, un 6,50 per 100. . . . Habiendo pocos casos de aumento ó disminución de sílabas, un metro regular quizá sufriría menos que la asonancia por los yerros del copista; pero aunque supongamos que éste con sus equivocaciones destruyó el metro de un 8 ó un 10 por 100 de versos, siempre resultaría que es imposible admitir un metro regular que no se conserve en un 90 por 100 de casos."⁸²

As far as the claim of the author of the *Libro de Alexandre* is concerned, Morel-Fatio (*Romania*, 4, p. 55) very properly observed that it need not be taken literally except in so far as he failed to do justice to it.⁸³ In fact, there is in the text of the Osuna manuscript⁸⁴ hardly a stanza that has not metrically incorrect half-Alexandrines, about one fourth of the hemistichs being octosyllables, to say nothing of other forms deviating from the type 7 + 7. In the first fifty quatrains of the Paris copy⁸⁵ we find 97 octosyllables and thirty-six half-lines varying between five and nine syllables; in other words 133 infractions of the rule of the French metre. In the quatrains 1213-1263 of the same copy, there are 61 irregularities of this class, and in quatrains 1850-1900 some 187, of which 94 are octosyllables. Needless to say that we cannot in these cases,

⁸² Add to this the following query (p. 104) : "Mucho sufrieron las asonancias en los traslados del Cantar de Mio Cid, y no sé porqué los críticos las creyeron mejor conservadas que el metro, admitiendo sin corrección varias que no deben mirarse sino como errores de copista."

⁸³ In his doctor-dissertation entitled "*Sprachliche und text-kritische Untersuchungen zum Libro de Alexandre*" (Strassburg, 1910), E. Muller expresses (p. 35) the opinion that this passage indicates that the *Libro de Alexandre* was the first work of the author, who is taken to be no other than Gonzalo de Berceo.

⁸⁴ Ed. by Janer, in *Biblioteca de Rivadeneyra*, vol. 15.

⁸⁵ Ed. by Morel-Fatio, in *Gesellsch. f. roman. Lit.*, vol. 10, 1906.

any more than in those discussed on pp. 11 and 15,⁸⁶ content ourselves with the assumption of mere scribal errors. It is obvious, then, that the precept of the writer of the *Libro de Alexandre* means little more than that he was better versed in the traditional use of anacrusis and of the octosyllable than in the syllabic isometry of his French model; in no way does it imply the existence in the epic song of the Castilian minstrel of such metrical irregularity as is illustrated by the mangled body of verse handed down in the copy of Per Abbat.⁸⁷

Passing now to Menéndez Pidal's affirmation that a regular metre would suffer less at the hands of a scribe than assonance, and that consequently, assonance being injured in our manuscript in only 242 out of 3730 possible cases, we have no right to assume the employment of a regular metre in the original redaction of the Poem, it is hardly necessary to say that it runs counter the fact everywhere recognized by critics that assonance and rhyme are a most valuable and often the only reliable test of the original linguistic form of a poem, for the very reason that the copyist finds it far more difficult to change the rhyme-word or syllable than other parts of the verse. In this connection it is important to note that, as the Spanish investigator himself admits (e. g., pp. 100-101), twice as many octosyllables are preserved in the second part of the verse as in the first (cf. above, sheet 11, note 2),⁸⁸ a circumstance arguing in itself very strongly in favor of the presumption that in the original composition the first part of the verse likewise was equivalent to the first hemistich of a romance-line, and against the assertion made, p. 103 (cf. also p. 124): "Lo cierto es que los

⁸⁶ As Hanssen well says (*Zur span. u. port. Metrik*, p. 54), rhythmic tradition may have had a good deal to do with the Old Spanish conception of the relation between a half-Alexandrine and the national octosyllable. Cf. above, pp. 11 and 15.

⁸⁷ Apropos of the passage in the *Libro de Alexandre*, Menéndez Pidal cites in a foot-note Santillana's well-known disdainful reference to the lowly singers of ballads (*Obras*, ed. Amador de los Ríos, p. 7). But this utterance of the great Castilian humanist applies as little to our case as his failure to mention the use of the iambic decasyllable by the Gallego-Portuguese troubadours proves that this metre, instead of being very common, was unknown to them (cf. *Liederbuch*, p. XVIII ff.).

⁸⁸ A similar proportion obtains in the regular hemistichs restored by the editor's corrections and additions, 60 being in the first, 139 in the second division of the line.

romances, por el asonante y la paragoge, como veremos, son iguales al Cantar, mientras por su metro reposan en base distinta." It has been seen above (section 4, p. 14) that neither of the three or more conflicting statements with regard to the proportion of octosyllables preserved in our epic is correct; in view of this (cf. also p. 15, note 39) it is difficult to know how the different classes of metre, regular and other, are distinguished from one another.

Menéndez Pidal concedes at most 10 % as the ratio in which the metre may have been injured. Let us see. In our unique copy there are three gaps of about 50 verses each (see the editor's notes to ll. 1, 2337, 3507 of his *edición crítica*), representing a total loss of 150 lines. For the purpose of restoring sense and assonance, the editor has supplied from the Chronicles and other sources, 132 hemistichs;⁸⁹ deducting from these the 22 inserted in the first gap, there remain 110. There are furthermore some 275 lines of the character which Menéndez Pidal (pp. 89 and 111) declares to be foreign to what he terms the *sistema métrico* of the Poem;⁹⁰ deducting from these the cases mentioned under the following head, there remain 150. To these metrical freaks must be added the 140 decasyllables listed above (in section 3, p. 10 of this article) which Amador de los Ríos,⁹¹ Baist⁹² and Menéndez y Pelayo⁹³ condemn

⁸⁹ α-μ; 14 b, 181 b-d; 215 II, 227 II, 248 II, 298 I, 441 b-e, 477 II, 491 II, 626 II, 755 b, 800 b II, 835 b, 875 b-e, 896 bc, 934 b, 935 bc, 1195 II, 1252 II, 1246 II, 1284 b II, 1494 b, 1573 b, 1615 b, 1666 I, 1674 II, 1690 II, 1823 II, 1866 II, 1937 b-e, 1992 II, 2111 II, 2124 b, 2191 II, 2286 II, 2312 b, 2312 b, 2326 b, 2824 b, 2862 II, 3007 II, 3007 b, 3008 b, 3114 II, 3179 b, 3212 b, 3290 b, 3525 II, 3726 II.

⁹⁰ E. g., 35, 36, 109, 120, 142, 160, 178, 287, 443 b, 446 b, 448, 451, 453-4, 463, 471, 477 b, 478, 480, 483, 499, 506, 545, 617, 646, 652, 718, 726-9, 733, 758, 764, 765, 769-770, 774, 776-7, 796 b, 800, 816, 820, 826 b, 847, 849, 879, 883, 911, 916, 921, 923, 931, 936-7, 939, 949, 954, 956, 1014, 1031, 1053, 1067, 1075, 1095, 1106, 1110, 1119-1121, 1124, 1139, 1144, 1161, 1205, 1224, 1300, 1336, 1383, 1387, 1399, 1469, 1492, 1499, 1560, 1611-2, 1614, 1616, 1632, 1636, 1681, 1761, 1782 b, 1829, 1844, 1906, 1916, 1920, 1926, 1933, 1939, 1957, 1970, 1974. Cf. Coester, *Revue Hispanique*, 15, p. 172.

⁹¹ *Historia crítica*, 3, p. 212, note 2: "Para nosotros todos los versos que en el Poema de Mio Cid pasen de diez y siete silabas, como todos los que bajen de doce, están visiblemente adulterados." A capital observation which writers like Restori and Lidforss would have done well to heed.

⁹² *Grundriss*, II, 2, p. 389: "Die scheinbaren Zehnsilbner müssen auch von dem hier vertretenen Standpunkte aus abgelehnt werden."

⁹³ *Antología* II, p. 89, note 1: "Pero lo característico en el decasílabo épico francés es el constar siempre de dos miembros desiguales; ley enteramente contraria á la del verso épico castellano." Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 90.

as inconsistent with the character of the epic measure of Spain, and the 290 five-syllables (see above) found in other combinations. Finally, we must include some 170 hemistichs of between 10 and 13 syllables which even the editor himself characterizes, and partly corrects, as being excessively long (see e. g., notes to ll. 461, 1153, 1293, 1495, 1719 of his critical edition, and also pp. 294-295). From this statement alone, in which the considerable number of six- and nine-syllables more or less subject to criticism is not embraced, it is manifest that the metre is disturbed by the loss or abridgment of 440 full-lines, or 10.40 %, and of 571 hemistichs, or 13 % of the whole number of verses. This accounts therefore for all but 16 % of the total of 39 % of hemistichs deviating from the two regular types of verse represented in our text, the heptasyllable (33 %) and the octosyllable (28 %), and there can be no question that the admitted derangement of the metrical form falls little short of what one might expect from the fact that the assonance was injured in no less than 242. Here again, then, the author's figures and inferences do not prove to be quite correct.

Two important conclusions may be drawn from the facts just recited. In the first place, the loss of as many as 410 hemistichs, the abridgment of 430 others, and the existence of some 150 lines of distinctly prosaic character, involve in themselves a not inconsiderable disturbance of the context and sense as well as of the metre of the Poem, a disturbance which is further illustrated by the transposition of some 37 lines⁹⁴ and the disorder admitted by Menéndez Pidal in about 30 others.⁹⁵ It is evident, then, that even without taking into account the serious doubts entertained by Coester⁹⁶ regarding the completeness of our Poem in its extant copy, the question of its original character and form is not, as one might infer from the silence generally observed on this point, one of versification only, but quite as much one of context and sense. In the second place, the nature of the losses and injuries sustained by the Poem, and in particular the presence in its verse, apart from

⁹⁴ 337-338, 394-395, 398, 507-509, 1085, 1086, 1145-1154, 1206-1207, 1584-1590, 2127-2130, 2156, 2437, 2555, 2522-2533, 2553, 2653-2656, 2675-2676, 2975-2976.

⁹⁵ 274, 283, 337-338, 354, 360, 442, 1043-1044, 1071-1072, 1145-1154, 2306, 2326, 2431, 2506, 2570, 2571, 2714-2715, 2788, 2861, 3197, 3486, 3555.

⁹⁶ *Compression in the Poema del Cid*, in *Revue Hispanique*, 15, p. 96 ff.

the octosyllable, of two other regular forms of versification which the Spanish critic, contrary to his professed inability to discover a regular metre in the copy of Per Abbat, identifies (e. g., pp. 95-97) with the verse of the *Chanson de Roland* (see above section 3, p. 13) and with the hemistich of the Alexandrine, these features, we say, leave little doubt that the present condition of our epic cannot, as many assume,⁹⁷ all be due to the worthy minstrel or to negligent copyists; they must in large measure be the result of deliberate abridging or recasting of the original text.⁹⁸ We shall not enter here into the discussion of such important questions as the one touching the relation of our extant copy to those utilized by the compilers of the Chronicles and to the first redaction of the Poem, a question which cannot be successfully treated without the aid of documents like the still unedited *Cronica de Veinte Reyes*; suffice it to indicate briefly the time when such rewriting of the original song was attempted. One of the important archaic traits which characterize the language of the Poem⁹⁹ is the usage according to which, as Hanssen has shown,¹⁰⁰ the auxiliary verb cannot stand at the beginning of a proposition. As this rule is no longer observed in the texts of the thirteenth century, it follows that any incisive alteration of the text of our epic, such as would account for the existence in it of two foreign metres in the ratio of 38 % of the whole, must have taken place soon after its first redaction, when the syntactical usage referred to was still in force. Now, it is precisely in this period, about the middle of the twelfth century, that the influence of France, which had begun as early as the conquest of Toledo in 1085 to affect the intellectual and ecclesiastical life of the

⁹⁷ For Milá y Fontanals, see above, p. 10, note 3; Lidforss, *Los Cantares de Myo Cid*, p. 105; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología*, II, pp. 82-96; Baist, *Grundriss*, II, 2, p. 389: "Mir zeigt sich nur eine Kopie, die mit wenig Zwischengliedern auf eine bedeutend ältere, der Entstehung fast gleichzeitige Vorlage zurückgeht, mit starken Korruptelen, aber ohne absichtliche Aenderungen." How, then, are we to account for the existence in this early recast of the Poem of such special verse-forms as the decasyllable which Baist himself rejects as incompatible with the character of the epic metre of Castile?

⁹⁸ Ford, *Old Spanish Readings*, p. 113, suggests that "a redactor made it (i. e., the Poem) over in the 13th and 14th centuries . . . into Alexandrines as well as he could."

⁹⁹ Cf. Menéndez Pidal, pp. 27, 33, 86, 121.

¹⁰⁰ *Dos Problemas de sintaxis*, 1907, p. 3 ff.; *Revue de Dialect. romane*, I, p. 455.

Peninsula, became potent in the nascent literary activity of Central and Western Spain.¹⁰¹ Abundant evidence of such action, which it is as uncritical to belittle as to exaggerate, is furnished by such didactic works contemporary with our Poem, as the *Mystery of the Magian Kings* and the *Debate between Soul and Body*, in which the Alexandrine metre is employed, and by epic legends and *Chansons de Geste* such as the *Chronicle of Turpin*, composed between 1126 and 1165,¹⁰² and the *Chanson de Roland*, to which latter the *Poem of the Cid* is indebted for a number of details.¹⁰³ Under these circumstances, and with the spirit of the national epic still active, it must have been an alluring task for some one, perhaps a monk of Cardena, interested in this splendid song and its hero, to recast its traditional metre in the mould of the new art received from France. The attempt was only partially successful, as we may infer from the capricious aspect of much of the verse, especially before the caesura,¹⁰⁴ but by its appeal to the lettered class it probably had the great merit of saving the Poem from the fate of its predecessors.

Finally, attention may be called to the significant fact (cf. above p. 6) that of the 400 emendations changing the number of syllables and hemistichs which Menéndez Pidal, for reasons other than metrical (see e. g., pp. 103 and 307) has introduced in his *edición crítica*, more than 200 have resulted in the restoration of octosyllables and, as we shall see further on, a great many other regular half-lines might quite as properly have been restored; and that, on the other hand, of the 28 romance-hemistichs¹⁰⁵ (of a total of about 2150 preserved in the transcript of Per Abbat) in which the editor has made corrections affecting the order or the number of syllables, only the twelve cases underscored in the list below have been destroyed by these changes.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ See, e. g., Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología*, II, pp. 70-82; *Liederbuch*, pp. xxi-xxvi.

¹⁰² See Bédier, *Annales du Midi*, 1911, p. 445.

¹⁰³ See Menéndez y Pelayo, *l. c.*

¹⁰⁴ The adjustment to the Alexandrine measure was much less difficult, especially in view of the facts mentioned above, pp. 8, 12 and 20, note 5.

¹⁰⁵ 55 II, 66 I, 256 I, 308 II, 720 II, 758 II, 827 II, 842 II, 846 II, 912 II, 1008 II, 1083 II, 1195 II, 1287 II, 1293 I, 1338 II, 1418 II, 1576 II, 1699 II, 1936 II, 1952 II, 1954 II, 2059 II, 3053 II, 3496 II, 3609 I, 3665 II, 3680 II.

¹⁰⁶ As will be shown in our discussion of the editor's method of text-criticism, all but two of these 12 changes (55 II, 308 II) are arbitrary.

The evidence here presented invalidates the conclusion with which Menéndez Pidal ends (p. 86) his investigation of this subject, that a large portion of the original metre must have passed into the copy of Per Abbat; and it proves on the other hand, if such proof is needed, that an admittedly disordered versification, having no other warrant than a unique and late manuscript, cannot, as has been done too often, be accepted as a sufficient criterion for the character of the epic metre of Castile which is involved in that of the original conception of our Poem.¹⁰⁷ The critic who adopts the scientific procedure of judging the anomalous and doubtful form in the light of the organic whole to which it belongs, will hardly fail to concur with Cornu in the opinion that the 2150 romance-hemistichs preserved in the extant manuscript represent the metrical basis of the original Poem; in doing so, however, he will consider that in view of the metrical liberty enjoyed by the Spanish poet (see above pp. 8, 12, 20) it is a question yet to be decided under what conditions a hemistich having one syllable more or less than an octosyllable will require correction.

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(To be continued)

¹⁰⁷ It is somewhat surprising to find that Baist (*l. c.*, pp. 389-390), after admitting the existence of earlier epics, a second redaction of the Poem almost contemporaneous with the first, and the probability of a metrical composition in the manner of the *verso de arte mayor*, nevertheless says: "Nimmt man aber Cornu's These im ganzen Umfange an, so braucht der Vers darum nicht vorfranzösisch zu sein."

¹⁰⁸ Among the seventy-four intended half-Alexandrines of the *Disputa del Alma y el Cuerpo* (publ. in *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 1900, and in Ford, *Old Spanish Readings*, 1906, pp. 21-22), a composition hardly much later than the *Poem of the Cid*, there are fifteen octosyllables and four nine-syllables, three of the full lines (8, 12, 28) being regular romance-verses instead of Alexandrines.

NOTES ON THE TRAGEDIES OF LUPERCIO LEONARDO DE ARGENSOLA

THE tragedies of Lupericio Leonardo de Argensola, together with those of Juan de la Cueva, Virués, Artieda and *El Trato de Argel* and *La Numancia* of Cervantes, represent a transitional stage in which the Spanish drama has freed itself from conscious imitation of classical tragedy as represented in the plays of Gerónimo Bermúdez, and has not yet earned the right to be called a national drama. Obedient to the literary currents of the time, these poets violated some or all of the precepts attributed to Aristotle and Horace, yet in their choice of subject or method of treatment remained under the influence of Seneca. The dramas produced in Spain between 1579 and 1585 have received scant consideration and still less appreciation from the critics, who have too frequently forgotten that melodrama with scenes of bloodshed was a natural inheritance from Seneca and that these plays were composed solely for the sake of the long disquisitions on moral subjects, against which so many objections are made.¹

Until the year 1772, Lupericio Leonardo de Argensola was known only as a scholar, historian and poet of considerable ability, whose works had been posthumously published with those of his brother Bartolomé at Saragossa in 1634. He was known only as a dramatist by a flattering reference of Cervantes² to his three plays, *Isabela*, *Alejandra* and *Filis*, which were not included in the Saragossa edition, and were believed to be lost. Considerable disappointment was felt by the critics of the time when Sedano published *Isabela* and *Alejandra* in his *Parnaso Español*,³ since these plays seemed in no way worthy of the high praise bestowed upon them by Cervantes. This estimate has been confirmed by most of

¹ See Prof. J. M. Manly's introduction to Prof. F. J. Miller's translation of the Tragedies of Seneca, Chicago, 1907, in which he explains the meaning of the early English imitations of Seneca.

² *Don Quixote*, Part I, chap. 48.

³ Vol. VI.

the critics of the Spanish drama, who have forgotten that *Isabela* and *Alejandra* should not be compared with the plays of Lope de Vega and Tirso de Molina, but with *Gorboduc*, *The Spanish Tragedy*, Giraldo Cinthio's *Orbecche* and the tragedies of Robert Garnier, all of which represent approximately the same stage in dramatic evolution as the plays of Argensola.

The date of composition and performance of these plays is not certain. Sedano says that they were composed at Madrid about the year 1585 and were represented at Madrid and Saragossa.⁴ In the preface to the same volume, he says that the plays were composed by Argensola at the age of twenty, that is in 1585, since he accepts 1565 as the date of his birth. These dates were accepted by Moratín, Ticknor, Schack and La Barrera. The Count de la Viñaza, editor of the *Obras Sueltas*⁵ of the Argensola brothers, discovered that the real date of Lupercio Leonardo's birth is 1559, so that if these plays were composed when he was twenty, the date of composition would have to be placed earlier. Schaeffer refers to a manuscript of *Isabela* seen by Barrera dated 1581, which confirms an earlier date.⁶

Sedano published these plays in three acts, but adds in the Appendix:⁷

"Se ha seguido el número de los tres Actos en que las dividió nuestro Autor, y á que dió el título de Jornadas, . . . pero afirmativamente no sabemos si fué éste el número, y título que verdaderamente usó, porque hay sospechas de que las pudo dividir en quatro, que solía también ser costumbre en aquel tiempo, . . . porque en una de las copias que se han seguido, tenía en la segunda Tragedia una jornada el nombre de quarta, y faltaba el de la tercera, cuyo número se siguió por más regular, á falta de otra comprobación; pero con el defecto de que se hablará en su lugar más adelante."⁸

Moratín disregarded or was ignorant of Sedano's doubts, and accepted the division into three acts. He was followed by Ticknor,⁹

⁴ Appendix to vol. VI of *Parnaso Español*, p. xv.

⁵ Madrid, 1889, vol. I, p. x.

⁶ *Geschichte des Spanischen Nationaldramas*, Leipzig, 1890, vol. I, p. 73.

⁷ *Parnaso Español*, vol. VI, p. xv.

⁸ He alludes in this connection to the short time intervening between the order given for the death of Lupercio and the bringing of his mutilated remains on the stage in Act II of *Alejandra*.

⁹ *History of Spanish Literature*, New York, 1854, vol. II, p. 33.

who not only speaks of them as three act plays, but adds that the choruses originally prepared for them were omitted. *Isabela* was republished by Ochoa in three acts.¹⁰

The Count de la Viñaza published these plays in three acts in his edition of the *Obras Sueltas*,¹¹ following the text of Sedano, but he also used two manuscripts, one originally in the Osuna Library and now preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional, containing both plays, and another in the library of Sr. Menéndez y Pelayo, containing only *Isabela*. The Osuna manuscript, which is thought to be a copy of the original, divides the plays into four acts, and although the editor indicates this division in foot-notes, he does not consider the question of the form in which they were originally composed. A comparison of the text of the Sedano or Viñaza edition with that of the Osuna manuscript shows that the division into four acts of the latter is far more logical.

Fortunately we have more direct evidence that the author divided the plays into four acts. The Prologue to *Alejandra* is pronounced by Tragedia, who speaks of the theories concerning tragedy:

El sabio Estagirita da lecciones
 Cómo me han de adornar los escritores;
 Pero la edad se ha puesto de por medio,
Rompiendo los preceptos por él puestos,
Y quitándome un acto que solía
Estar en cinco siempre dividida:
Me han quitado también aquellos coros
Que andaban de por medio entre mis scenas.

The author here implies that he had composed his plays in four acts instead of five, and that the dramatists of the time had suppressed the choral odes which had formerly been used to fill in the intervals between the acts. It is evident that Ticknor applied to these plays alone a statement which referred to most Spanish tragedies of that period.

There is no doubt that these plays were originally written to be

¹⁰ *Tesoro del Teatro español*, vol. I. Paris, 1838.

¹¹ *Obras Sueltas de Lupericio y Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1889.

presented at Saragossa. A specific reference to this is made in the Prologue to *Alejandra*, and *Isabela* not only has Saragossa as its scene of action, but frequent references to the immediate environs of that city, and numerous appeals to local patriotism are made.

The prologues to the plays furnish conclusive proof that while Argensola was not a strict classicist in his conception of tragedy, he had little sympathy with the Spanish popular drama. Fama, in the Prologue to *Isabela*, praises the audience in this fashion, after apologizing for violating the laws of tragedy by appearing in a public theatre:¹²

Pues publicando yo, que recitaba
Salcedo,¹³ no comedias amorosas,
Nocturnas asechanzas de mancebos,
Y libres liviandades de mozuelas,
Cosas que son acetas en el vulgo;
Sino que de coturnos adornado,
En lugar de las burlas, os contaba
Miserables tragedias y sucesos,
Desengaños de vicios, cosa fuerte
Y dura de tragar á quien los sigue:
Vosotros, por no ser amigos de esto,
Venís á ver los trágicos lamentos,
Y la fragilidad de vuestra vida:
Evidente señal de que sois tales,
Que discernís lo malo de lo bueno,
Para lo cual terneis materia luego,
Si proseguís á oirme con sosiego.

Argensola, following the dictum of Horace, *celebrare domestica facta*, lays the scene of *Isabela* at Saragossa. The first few lines of the play give us a clue as to the historical background. Alboacén, the Moorish King of Saragossa, boasts that he does not fear the destruction of his territory, as the King of Huesca had experienced, nor does he fear Don Pedro, the proud King of Sobrarbe:

Pues sabe que á la vista de un adarbe
A su padre Don Sancho le dió muerte
La cautelosa flecha de un Alarbe.

¹² This evidently refers to Horace's statement in the *Ars Poetica*, l. 191: *Nec Deus interit*.

¹³ This probably refers to Mateo de Salcedo. See Dr. H. A. Rennert, *The Spanish Stage in the time of Lope de Vega*, New York, 1909, p. 591.

.
Bástale ver al Rey en su estandarte
Cuatro cabezas nuestras por trofeo,
Que cada cual tuvimos por un Marte; etc.

We read in the chronicles that in the year 1094, Don Sancho, King of Aragon, laid siege to Huesca. The Moors asked aid from Al-boacén, King of Saragossa, saying that if Huesca fell, Saragossa would be left without defence. On learning this, Don Sancho advanced upon Huesca with all haste,

“y andando un día al derredor del muro, vio un lugar que le pareció algo flaco en la cerca, y aparejado para que por allí se le diera el combate: y como alçasse el brazo derecho para le mostrar a los capitanes que con el yuan, fue gran desdicha que le dispararon una saeta del muro, y dióle por la abertura del arnes debaxo del sobaco, y passole hasta la teta yzquierda.”

Knowing that he was mortally wounded, he summoned his officers and had his oldest son, Don Pedro, named King. He then partook of the sacrament and died, after exacting the promise from his sons that they would not leave Huesca until they captured it. Don Pedro kept his promise and captured Huesca two years later at the battle of Alcoraz. After the battle, the Christians found the heads of four Moors who had performed great feats of valour. “Por esto tomo el Rey victorioso por armas en un campo de plata una cruz colorada, y en cada un quarto una cabeça de Moro con una venda blanca a las sienes, en señal de Reyes.” It will be seen that the date of the action of the play is between 1096, the battle of Alcoraz, and 1104, the year of the death of Don Pedro I of Aragon.¹⁴

Isabela is a romantic tragedy, conceived after the manner of the Italian imitations of Seneca rather than based upon a close study of the Latin dramatist. Except for the division in four acts and the lack of a chorus, its salient characteristics might equally apply to almost all of the Italian tragedies of the sixteenth cen-

¹⁴ I have quoted from the *Libro Segundo de la Corónica de toda España, y especialmente del Reyno de Valencia* of Doctor Anton Beuter, Valencia, 1604, pp. 39 and 42. An earlier Castilian edition was published at Valencia, 1546-1551. Practically the same account is given by Zurita in his *Anales de la Corona de Aragon*, vol. I, Zaragoza, 1610, pp. 31-32.

tury composed after the *Orbecche* of Giraldi Cinthio. The unities of place and time are observed, but the most important unity of all, that of action, is flagrantly disregarded.¹⁵

Since the play is accessible in a number of editions, I need not give an outline of the plot. The central point is the death of Isabela and Muley by order of the jealous Alboacén, and the generous attempt of Isabela to sacrifice herself for her lover. The suggestion of Schack¹⁶ that the incident was suggested by the episode of Olindo and Sofronia in the *Gerusalemme Liberata* is probably correct, although the *dénouement* here is quite different. The dream of Alboacén related in Act I, Scene V of the printed version resembles the appearance of Aletto to Solimano in Canto IX of the *Gerusalemme*. Even if it be true that La Barrera saw a manuscript of *Isabela* dated 1581, it is possible that Argensola may have received a copy of Tasso's poem in that year. It is certain, however, that the poet had also in mind the episode of Nisus and Euryalus, found in the ninth book of the *Aeneid*, for he translates a few lines of this in the messenger's account of the death of Isabela:¹⁷

Una fuente de sangre despedía,
Que, por el blanco pecho discurriendo,
Coral sobre marfiles parecía;
Y ya del blanco rostro desistiendo,
Cual de cortada flor, el color bello,
Las gracias se mostraban ir huyendo.
Inclinó con dolor el blanco cuello,
Cual con la grande lluvia combatida
La dormidera verde suele hacello.

Cf. *Aeneid*, Lib. IX, 433-37:

Volvitur Euryalus leto, pulchrosque per artus
It cruor, inque humeros cervix collapsa recumbit;
Purpureus veluti cum flos, succisus aratro,
Languescit moriens; lassove papavera collo
Demisère caput, pluviâ cum forte gravantur.

¹⁵ That unity of time is observed is proven by the lines of Isabela to her lover, Act I, Scene II:

¡Ay, Muley, y quién creyera
Que el día de nuestras bodas
El de nuestra muerte fuera!

¹⁶ *Historia de la Literatura y del Arte dramático en España*, vol. II, p. 77.

¹⁷ Act III, Scene III of the printed version.

The tragedy *Alejandra* has two well defined actions, the desire of a Prince to avenge his father's death and the insane jealousy of a King which finds satisfaction in the death of the Queen, thus combining the themes of *Hamlet* and *Othello*.

Acoreo, King of Egypt, has put to death Ptolemy, his predecessor, and the Queen. The young Prince barely escapes with his life, and serves the King as cup-bearer under the name of Orodante. Two captains, Ostilo and Rémulo, plan a revolt against Acoreo for the purpose of placing Orodante on the throne, so that their power may be undisputed. They tell Orodante of his identity, and he is filled with desire to avenge his father's death.

To carry out their plans, it is necessary to rid themselves of Lupercio, Acoreo's devoted captain. In order to discredit him, the conspirators declare that Alejandra, the Queen, is in love with him, and has attempted to persuade the cup-bearer to poison the King, so that she may enjoy her guilty love undisturbed. Only the first part of this charge is true. Alejandra is in love with Lupercio, but he repels her advances, both because of his feeling of loyalty to the King, and also because he loves Sila, Acoreo's daughter.

The King is furious when he hears this report and orders the death of Lupercio, whose mutilated remains and blood are brought before the Queen. Acoreo tells her that he has been troubled by dreams of impending evil and bids her wash her hands in the blood of the bulls which he has sacrificed. She recognizes the remains of the man whom she loves and breaks out in a furious tirade against the King. He delights in her grief and orders her death, allowing her to choose between the dagger, the rope or poison. After the element of physical horror has been prolonged as far as possible, she drinks poison. The King enters to enjoy the sight of her suffering, she bites off her tongue in her agony, spits it at him, and dies calling down curses upon him for his cruelty.

The revolt breaks forth. Acoreo, abandoned by all, sees in a vision the ghost of Ptolemy, which predicts his death. He is besieged in a tower, kills *coram populo* a number of children and hurls their heads at his besiegers. Finally he is assassinated by members of his own escort who offer his head to Orodante and are executed as traitors. Sila, Acoreo's daughter, appears at the top of a tower, Orodante declares to her his love, she invites him to mount, he obeys and is stabbed by her. She then commits suicide by leaping from the tower. Tragedy closes the play with an explanation of the moral issues involved, and an invitation for applause.

I have searched the gruesome annals of the reigns of the Egyptian Ptolemies without finding any mention of events similar to those described here. It is certain, however, that Argensola was acquainted with Lodovico Dolce's tragedy, *Marianna*, and borrowed from it the idea of the jealousy of Acoreo and his bloody revenge upon the queen and an innocent courtier. Dolce, a prolific writer on many subjects, is best known as a dramatist who followed in the footsteps of Giraldi Cinthio. He published versions of Euripides's *Hecuba* and Seneca's *Thyestes* in 1543, and a collection of tragedies in 1560, which included, besides the above mentioned, *Giocasta*¹⁸ (from Euripides), *Medea* (from Euripides), *Ifigenia* (from Euripides), and *Didone*, an original work. *Marianna* appeared in 1565 and *Le Troiane* (from Seneca) in 1566. The source of *Marianna*, the most important of Dolce's tragedies, is the account of Herod's jealous love for Mariamne, a favorite story for dramatists, related in Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews*.¹⁹ In *Marianna*, jealousy appeared for the first time as the dominant theme.²⁰

The argument of *Marianna* is briefly as follows:

Herod is passionately in love with his queen Marianna, but when his sister, Solome, tells him that Marianna had tempted the cup-bearer to poison him and that she is too intimate with Soemo, his trusted counsellor, the King's furious jealousy is aroused, and his suspicions are not quieted when the cup-bearer confesses that he has given false testimony. Before leaving for Egypt, the King had exacted a promise from Soemo that he would put Marianna, and her mother, Alessandra, to death in case he perished on the expedition. When he learns that Soemo had disclosed this secret to the Queen, he immediately orders his execution. The mutilated remains of Soemo are brought to Herod by a messenger. The King

¹⁸ It will be remembered that Dolce's *Giocasta* was translated into English by George Gascoigne and F. Kinwelmersh and performed at Grays Inn in 1566. See ed. with Italian original by Prof. J. W. Cunliffe, Belles-Lettres Series, 1906.

¹⁹ Landau, *Die Dramen von Herodes und Mariamne*, in *Zeitschr. für vergleich. Litteraturgesch.*, N. F., VIII. Landau mentions three Spanish plays dealing with this story, Calderón de la Barca's *El Tetrarca de Jerusalem ó el mayor monstruo los celos*; Tirso de Molina's *La vida de Herodes* and Cristóbal Lozano's *Herodes Ascalonita y la hermosa Mariana*. This story has frequently been treated by English dramatists from Lady Elizabeth Carew's *Tragedy of Mariam the Fair Queen of Jewry* of 1613 to Stephen Phillips' *Herod*.

²⁰ Landau, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

gloats over the death of his supposed rival, displays the severed members to the Queen, and commands that she must die with her mother and her two sons. After this order has been carried out, the King repents bitterly of his hasty action.

In adapting the Italian play to his own purposes, Argensola made a number of important changes. Marianna is entirely innocent of infidelity, Alejandra is unfaithful, at least in thought. The cup-bearer who is merely an instrument in the conspiracy in Dolce's tragedy becomes a prominent character in *Alejandra*, as claimant to the throne. The play, *Marianna*, ends with the repentance of Herod for the execution of Soemo, Marianna, Alessandra and his two sons. In *Alejandra*, the death of Acoreo at the hands of the conspirators furnishes the *dénouement*. The sub-plot of the love of Lupercio and Orodante for Sila, as well as the conspiracy of Ostilo and Rémulo, seem to be entirely of Argensola's invention.

In both plays, the Prologue is pronounced by Tragedy. In *Alejandra* she appears thus announcing her identity:

Estas tocas sangrientas y corona,
Y la lucida espada de dos cortes,
Os descubre mi nombre, que es Tragedia,
Nacida de desgracias de los Principes.

This was probably suggested by the beginning of the Prologue to *Marianna*:²¹

Io, qual vedete a questi oscuri panni,
A questo scettro, a questa ignuda spada,
Et a questa corona, son colei,
Che Tragedia nomar gli antichi Greci.
Nè l'origine mia scende dal Cielo;
Ch'io già nacqui tra voi, non tra privati,
Ma tra Principi, Regi, e Imperatori.

The first act of *Alejandra* containing an account of the plot to discredit Lupercio and to place Orodante on the throne, the overtures made to Lupercio by Alejandra and repulsed by him and the scene between Lupercio and Sila are entirely independent of Dolce's tragedy. In both plays, however, we learn that an attempt is to be made to ruin a faithful servant (Lupercio-Soemo) by a false accu-

²¹ I have used the edition of *Marianna* published in vol. V of the *Teatro Italiano Antico*, Milano, 1809.

sation, and the Queen (Alejandra-Marianna) is unjustly charged with planning to poison the King.

The first scene of the second Act of *Alejandra*, containing a description of the fears of Sila for the safety of Lupercio, is independent of *Marianna*. Acoreo is then told by Ostilo and Rémulo of the treachery of Lupercio and that the Queen is not only unfaithful, but plans to poison him. This corresponds to the first scene of the second Act of *Marianna*, in which Solome, Herod's sister, whispers false accusations against the Queen. The cup-bearer is then introduced to tell his story. In both plays he swears that the Queen has tried to bribe him to poison the King. Only in *Marianna*, however, does he later declare that the charge is false. In *Marianna*, it is the Eunuch who declares to Herod that Soemo has proven himself a traitor; in *Alejandra*, it is Ostilo who brings a false accusation against Lupercio of plotting against Acoreo. In *Alejandra*, Lupercio is disarmed, brought before the King and sentenced to death.

In the third Act of *Alejandra*²² a messenger enters, expressing his horror at the execution of the faithful Lupercio. This account resembles somewhat the first scene of the fourth Act of *Marianna*, and also recalls the opening of the fourth Act of Seneca's *Thyestes*. The messenger carries with him the mutilated members of the victim (Lupercio-Soemo). The following scenes of the third Act of *Alejandra* follow *Marianna* closely. Acoreo enters and asks:

¿Murió ya el alevoso fementido?

¿Cumplióse mi precepto y mandamiento?

Compare *Marianna*, Act IV, Scene II:

E la sentenza mia stata eseguita?

E, sì come, ordinai, seguito il fine

Del traditor e iniquo di Soemo?

On receiving an affirmative reply, Acoreo bids him describe the death of Lupercio. The messenger answers that the condemned man was taken in chains to a square where a great multitude of people had assembled, surprised at seeing bound the captain who

²² I have used the division into four acts of the Osuna manuscript as indicated in the foot-notes to the edition of the Count de la Viñaza, *Obras Seltas*, vol. i.

had won so many glorious victories. One of the officers then addressed the crowd:

Egipcios, vuestro Rey muy alto manda
Que por traidor rebelde este hombre muera,
Porque él y alguna gente de su banda
Formaban rebelión y guerra inicua
Con una injusta y bárbara demanda.
También otro delito se le aplica,
Mayor que no los otros cometidos;
Mas, por honra del Rey, no se publica.

Compare *Marianna*, Act IV, Scene II:

Disse gridando un pubblico Trombetta:
Popolo, il nostro Re, sì come giusto,
Ha condannato questo ingrato a morte,
Mosso da due ragion, ciascuna grave.
L'una d'aver scoperto a la Reina
Un suo segreto grande et importante,
E l'altra per onor del Re si tace.

Lupercio, turning to the people, affirms his innocence:

Ya sabes, pueblo amado, yo quién era,
Aunque el Rey riguroso se ha olvidado
Y manda que sin culpa ahora muera.

Compare *Marianna*:

Io chiamo, popol buon, fedele e giusto,
In testimon del vero il Re superno,
Come non mi condanna a questa morte
Delitto alcun, ch'io commettessi mai.

When the moment of death arrives, he places one hand after another on the block, both of which are struck off (this is not found in *Marianna*), and then kneels for his execution. A comparison of these passages in *Alejandra* and *Marianna* shows that Argensola increased instead of attenuating the element of physical horror:

El cuchillo de presto el filo agudo
Segó las tristes venas y garganta;
Pero no de una vez cortallo pudo.
Un grito lamentable se levanta:

Turbábase el sangriento carnicero,
 Y así estuvo el cuitado en pena tanta.
 Dos golpes volvió á dar, y del postrero
 La cabeza saltó del varón fuerte,
 Y dos veces gritó: Sin culpa muero.

The account of the analogous scene in *Marianna* is far less brutal:

Poi che questo ebbe detto, incontanente
 Con franco e saldo cuore inchinò 'l collo,
 Aspettando il maggior di tutti i mali.
 Allora il manigoldo a un colpo solo
 La testa gli parti ratto dal busto;
 Che tre volte gridò: moro innocente.

In both plays, the messenger displays the bloody remains of the victim, and the King summons the Queen. In *Alejandra*, Acoreo tells the Queen that he has been troubled by portents and bids her wash in the blood of the bulls which he has sacrificed to appease the gods. This is probably a reference to the ceremony of the *taurobolium*, with which Argensola had doubtless become familiar by his reading of the Latin classics. In *Marianna*, Herod tells the Queen that he has brought her the object which she prizes most highly. In both plays, she is obliged to uncover the mutilated members of the victim while the King gloats over her anguish. The following passage of *Alejandra* is translated almost literally from *Marianna*.

Acoreo. ¿Cómo, Alejandra, no miras
 Este noble corazón,
 Do se forjó la traición,
 Cubierto de mil mentiras?
 Y pues el tuyo, cruel,
 Te volvió conmigo dura,
 Míralo, que por ventura
 Está tu retrato en él.
 Esos son aquellos brazos,
 Por los cuales me aborreces,
 Que ciñeron tantas veces
 Tu cuello con torpes lazos.
 Estos son contra mi honra
 Aquellos brazos valientes,

Y éstos los pies diligentes
En procurar mi deshonra.
Mira también la cabeza,
La boca, los claros ojos:
Huelga con tales despojos;
Míralos pieza por pieza,
Que por quererlos tú tanto
Los he mandado guardar.

Compare with *Marianna*, Act IV, Scene III:

Tu, Nunzio, or ben solleva alta la testa:
Volgi qui, Marianna, e fisa gli occhi.
Questo è quel volto, che già tanto grato
Fu, moglie iniqua, al tuo sfrenato ardore.
Solleva in alto ancora ambe le mani.
Queste le mani son che molte volte
T'han cinto il collo in vituperio nostro.
Prendi anco in mano e le dimostra il core.
Questo è nel fin quel cuor, Donna impudica,
Appo'l qual ebbe'l tuo sì caro albergo.
Or godi lieta le reliquie morte
Di quel fellon, che sì ti piacque vivo.
Vedi s'io potea far, ingrata Donna,
A'merti tuoi più convenevol dono.

Alejandra calls for death as a relief for her suffering and Acoreo gives orders that she be allowed to choose between the dagger, the rope or poison. This is suggested by two lines in *Marianna*, in which Herod says to the unhappy Queen:

Ti concedo, ch'elegga, qual maniera
Di morte a te parrà, che sia men grave.

Here the similarity between the two plays ends. In *Alejandra*, the Queen debates with herself as to which means she will choose for death, drinks poison and dies, while the King diverts himself with the sight of her agony. Ptolemy then appears in a vision to Acoreo, predicting that dire revenge will overtake him. *Marianna* is also put to death, but the circumstances in no way resemble those described in Argensola's play. The fourth Act of *Alejandra* is quite independent of Dolce's tragedy. Acoreo is assassinated by members of his own escort. Orodante sees Sila on a tower and pleads his love.

She is horrified at the idea of marriage in the midst of such carnage, recalling Seneca's *Troades*, 890-903. When he accepts her invitation to mount, she stabs him and throws herself from the tower.

The indebtedness of Spanish to Italian literature of the sixteenth century has been frequently pointed out in fiction, lyric and epic poetry, and comedy. A comparison of Argensola's *Alejandra* with Dolce's *Marianna* shows that at least one of the most important Spanish tragedies of that period derives its principal scenes from an Italian play.

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THE YOUNG KING, HENRY PLANTAGENET (1155-1183), IN PROVENÇAL AND ITALIAN LITERATURE

(Continued from Vol. iv, p. 26)

II

THE ACTUAL PROVENÇAL TREATMENT OF THE YOUNG KING

THE testimony of the *razos* concerning the great influence¹ of Bertran de Born on the Young King is largely vitiated by the number of historical errors contained in these legendary biographies, as well as by the fact that they afford no definite information about the Young King which could not have been derived from a scanning of the poetry itself. Despite the supposedly close alliance between Bertran de Born² and the Young King, the Provençal biographers actually evince more knowledge of Richard than of his brother.³ When we come to consider the references to the Young King by Provençal poets other than Bertran de Born, we shall find them uniformly vague and inaccurate. That Henry and Richard had little in common is too well known to need extended argument here.⁴ While Richard was accused⁵ of the most odious crimes, the Young

¹ A. Stimming, *Bertran von Born* (1892), p. 4. Suchier und Birch-Hirschfeld, *Geschichte der französischen Litteratur* (1900), p. 78. Suchier also greatly exaggerates the relations of the Plantagenet family in general and the troubadours (pp. 60 and 176).

² We need then scarcely share the surprise expressed by Chabaneau (*Biographies des Troubadours*) that the *razos* which concern the two celebrated *planhs* in commemoration of the Young King should be very scant. There is no *raso* at all for the most famous of Bertran's poems, "Si tuit li dol e'lh plor e'lh marrimen" (A. Stimming, *op. cit.*, p. 72). As for "Mon chan fenisc ab dol et ab mal traire" (A. Stimming, *op. cit.*, p. 70), the *raso* contains nothing more than a bald outline of the poem.

³ A. Stimming, *op. cit.*, 85, 86.

⁴ Miss K. Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, 1887, ii, p. 221. See also *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (*Gisleberti Chronicon Hanoniensis*), xxi, pp. 513 and 536. Gervasius of Canterbury asserts that of the Aquitanian barons who rallied under the Young King, some came for hatred of his father, some to annihilate Richard his brother. One of the few to give instances of Richard's liberality is Roger of Wendover, *Rolls Series*, i, 172, etc.

⁵ The chronicle formerly attributed to Benedict of Peterborough, ed. Stubbs, i, 292.

King was celebrated far and wide for his liberality and other chivalrous qualities. Distinguished knights not only from his own land, but from all over Europe, flocked to his standard, and received generous gifts of horses, arms, money, lands and revenues.⁶ His example was so illustrious that it was copied by others during his lifetime, notably by the Count of Flanders. Nevertheless, not only is there no Provençal poet other than Bertram de Born who manifests any real acquaintance with the Young King, but there is actually repeated confusion of the characteristics of Henry, Richard, and their illegitimate brother Geoffrey.

The following extract is taken from Gaucelm Faidit,⁷ who fails to distinguish between Geoffrey and Henry:

"Tug . . . degran saber cum fos de pretz amaire
e qual foron vostre dui valen fraire,
lo joves reis el cortes coms Jaufres;
e qui en loc remanra de vos tres,
ben deu aver fin cor e ferm cossir
de totz bos aips enansar e grandir."

Similarly Raimon Vidal de Beziers lumps together Henry, Richard and Geoffrey:⁸

"E sos filhs tres que noi oblit:
Henric ni'n Richard ni'n Jaufre,
car en lor ac dos tans de be
c'om non poiria d'un an dir."

Again he writes:

". . . en Englaterra 'n Enricx . . .
e mais de sos filhs atressi,
n'Enrics e'n Richartz e'n Jofres."

Guiraut de Calanson gives the greatest apparent evidence of all the troubadours, Bertran de Born excepted, of a real knowledge about the Young King. In a beautiful lament about the young prince D. Fernando,⁹ he introduces a comparison of his virtues with those of Henry, Richard and Geoffrey:

⁶ *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, ed. P. Meyer, vv. 2636 ff.

⁷ Cited by A. Stimming, *op. cit.*, 1879 ed., p. 40, from Gaucelm Faidit, 22, 49 ff.

⁸ Cited by A. Stimming, *ibid.*, from Bartsch, *Denkmäler der provenzalischen Litteratur*, 152, 15 ff., and 168, 1 ff.

⁹ Milá y Fontanals, *De los Trovadores en España*, p. 123.

" Belh senher dieus, quo pot esser sufritz
Tan estranh dols cum es del jov' enfan,
Del filh del rey de Castella prezan,
Don anc nulhs homs jorn no s parti marritz,
Ni ses cosselh ni dezacosselhatz;
Qu'en lui era tot lo pretz restauratz
Del rey Artus qu'om sol dir e retraire,
On trobavan cosselh tug bezonhos;
Ar es mortz selh que degr' esser guizaire,
Lo mielhs del mon, de totz los joves bos.

.
Ben degra esser Ferran capdels e guitz,
S'a dieus plagues que est mon ames tan
Lo belh e'l bo a tot fag benestan,
Lo larc e'l franc, lo valen e'l grazitz,
Don cuiavon qu'en elh fos esmendatz
Lo jove reys, e'N Richartz lo prezat,
E'l coms Jaufres, tug li trey valen fraire
Cui semblava de cors e de faissos, etc." ¹⁰

Observe that the poets' assertion concerning the physical resemblance of D. Fernando to the Young King, which might seem at first glance to indicate a close acquaintance with the Plantagenet household, is really proof to the contrary, for the lamented Infante also resembled Richard and Geoffrey! Henry and Richard were brothers of Leonor, the mother of the Infante. The statement of Guiraut de Calanson is clearly nothing more than the conventional flattery of a court poet, who would naturally make the Infante resemble the other distinguished members of his family.

Pierre du Vilar likewise draws no distinction between Henry, Richard and Geoffrey:

" E si'l play bella messios,
Gen prometre, largamen dar,
Semblera de linhatge car
Don foro 'ls fraires valoros
N'Anricx e'N Richartz e'N Jofres . . . " ¹¹

There is also a long poem by Peire Vidal where the poet, with all his ample opportunity, fails to differentiate between the Young King and his brothers Richard and Geoffrey:

¹⁰ Raynouard, *Choix de Poésies des Troubadours*, iv, pp. 65, 66.

¹¹ Raynouard, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

"Vers dieus, que per nos fon penatz . . . ¹²
 Volc qu'en Alamanha vengues
 Us emperaire Fredericx,
 Et Englaterra 'N Enricx . . .
 N Enricx, EN Richartz, EN Jofres, etc."

Bertran de Born, it is true, evinces a knowledge of the political situation in his province.¹³ Were it not for the fact that his name is never mentioned by any chronicler in connection with English affairs, and that he is not even named by William Marshal among the knights of the Young King,¹⁴ one might be led to accept for fact his claims to ascendancy over the Plantagenet family.

However, the passages of his poems which won the widest celebrity in France contain nothing beyond the vaguest generalities about the Young King.¹⁵ In the statement of the extent of the Young King's reputation, the details given, instead of being for the purpose of precision, are intended to make the assertion more sweeping.¹⁶

We may be duly impressed by the comparison of the Young King with Roland:¹⁷

"Des lo temps Rotlan
 Ni de lai denan
 No vi hom tan pro
 Ni tan guerreian, etc."

Such unstinted praise may lead those who are not suspicious through experience of too general a recommendation to believe that there must be a vast body of undiscovered Provençal matter relating to the Young King and supplying the lacunae which we deplore. Unfortunately for this view, a Provençal manuscript has recently been discovered¹⁸ which contains two poems, one of which is a *planh* by Bertran de Born, not about the beloved Young King, whose death extinguished the voice of the troubadour, but about Geoffrey. It

¹² Raynouard, *op. cit.*, v, p. 347.

¹³ Cf. poem, "Ieu chan que'l reis m'en a pregat," etc. A Stimming, *op. cit.*, 1892 ed., p. 68.

¹⁴ *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, ed. P. Meyer, iii, xxxiv, note 1.

¹⁵ Stimming, *op. cit.*, pp. 70 and 72.

¹⁶ Stimming, *op. cit.*, p. 72, vv. 60-70.

¹⁷ Stimming, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

¹⁸ *Studj di filologia romanza*, viii, pp. 428, 429 (G. Bertoni: *Rime Provenzali Inedite*).

employs the same terms of praise, the same "glittering generalities," as the celebrated laments over the death of the Young King. There is even the comparison with Roland over again, but not a single reference to the other "Roland" who had died so lamentably three years before!

Such was the vague halo which hung for a very short time over the head of Henry Plantagenet, son of Henry II. of England, in the South of France. His reputation for courtesy and liberality crossed the Alps, and he was celebrated in the dialects of Florence and of Arezzo by men who, having no real information regarding his character from any Provençal source, attached to his name anecdotes current in their own land. Although ignorant of practically everything else regarding their hero, it is notable that they always preserved his name. Indeed, oral tradition here proved far more exact than manuscripts. It was due to the blunder of commentators that Dante's "Re Giovan 'i" in the line

"Che diedi al re giovan 'i mai conforti,"¹⁹

was finally altered to "Re Giovanni" in Italy.

THE "YOUNG KING" OF DANTE

Dante mentions the Young King in one place (*Inferno*, xxviii, vv. 118-142). For line 135, the manuscripts, in the proportion of ten to one, read "Giovanni" or "Giovani" instead of "giovane." Of course there can be no reasonable doubt that the person intended was our "re giovane," but it has frequently been argued that Dante probably made the same mistake as his contemporaries, and wrote "John" instead of "Henry." On this ground, and for metrical reasons, the reading "Giovanni" is retained by Scartazzini.

The reading "re giovane" has had so many successful defenders, that there would seem to be no excuse for re-opening the old controversy, except that it concerns very closely the matter relating to the Young King. The objections to the reading on metrical grounds²⁰ have been ably refuted, and Dante's familiarity with Provençal texts²¹ amply set forth. Yet it seems to me that the champions of

¹⁹ *Inferno*, xxviii, 135.

²⁰ G. A. Scartazzini, *La Divina Commedia*, 1906.

²¹ E. Moore, *Contributions to the Textual Criticism of the Divine Comedy*, 344-351, etc.—W. W. Vernon, *Readings on the Inferno*, ii, 475 ff.—J. D. M. Ford,

the reading "re giovane" have generally played into the hands of Scartazzini, Witte, Tommaseo, and other defenders of "re Giovanni" by trying to uphold Dante's knowledge of English history.²² Furthermore, while erring from excessive zeal in this direction, they have tended toward an improper inference from the retention of the reading "re giovane" by the *novellieri*.²³

There is surely no reason to believe that Dante knew more about English history than the leading historian of the period, Giovanni Villani, who wrote "Giovanni" for "giovane," and made Henry I. the murderer of Becket. Indeed, Dante mentions English sovereigns in only four passages.²⁴ If we except the bare reference to the Young King and his father, we may observe that of the remaining characters, two were contemporaries of Dante in his prime; one was murdered horribly, and received the most detailed consideration of Villani; while a fourth is described in a manner contrary to history, and was a man who, regarding his Parliament merely as a doubtful expedient for raising revenues, devoted the best of his cowardly soul and pliant will to the affairs of Italy.²⁴

With the exception of Henry II. and the Young King, none of

in *Annales du Midi*, x, 495-498.—M. Scherillo, in *Nuova Antologia*, Aug. 1 (pp. 452-478), Aug. 16 (pp. 651-665), and Sept. 1 (pp. 82-97), 1897.—These critics easily dispose of such contentions as that of A. J. Butler, who, in his translation of the Divine Comedy (1892), argues that it has never been shown that Dante was familiar with the poetry of Bertran de Born at the time that he wrote Canto xxviii of the *Inferno*.

²² E. Moore, *op. cit.*—P. Toynbee, in *Academy*, April 21, 1888 (p. 274). Cf. M. Scherillo, *op. cit.* (Aug. 1), p. 456, etc.

²³ It is difficult to find any very definite statement *pro* or *con* on this point, but various attempts have been made to show that Dante at least had traditions in common with the *novellieri*. (Cf. especially D'Ancona, *Del Novellino e delle sue Fonti*, in *Critica e storia letteraria*, pp. 231, 293-294.) Arturo Farinelli (*Dante e la Francia*, i, 29-32) allows one to infer that Dante drew from the Italian legends about the Young King. Cf. P. Toynbee, *Romania*, xxvi, 453-460: *Dante's Seven Examples of Munificence in the Convito*, where the writer is hard put to it to explain why Dante celebrated the generosity of Bertran de Born, without even mentioning the Young King of the *novellieri* (see also M. Scherillo, *op. cit.*, p. 474).

For the reading "re giovane" in the *Conti di antichi cavalieri*, cf. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXXVII, 596 ff., especially p. 605. Cf., however, the remarks at the foot of p. 631 and at the top of p. 632.

²⁴ The four passages in Dante's works are: *Inf.* xii, 119, 120 (Henry of Cornwall); *Purg.* vii, 130 (Henry III. and Edward I.); *Par.* xix, 122 (Edward I. and Edward II.), as well as *Inf.* xxviii, 135 (Henry II. and the Young King).

the rulers mentioned by Dante antedates the thirteenth century. Dante never alludes to Alfred, the Conqueror, the Lion-Hearted, or even to Becket himself.²⁵

The passage at the close of *Inferno* XXVIII. is chiefly about Bertran de Born, and only incidentally about the Young King. Dante mentions the Young King in this place only. We find him repeatedly referring to Bertran de Born²⁶ on the other hand, who, as has been observed, could not have come to his knowledge through any chronicler. Obviously, therefore, Dante's source was purely literary.

However, to deny Dante's familiarity with the historical Young King is not to plead against the reading "re giovane." It has been remarked that for the Provençal poets other than Bertran de Born the Young King had no historical significance, and had become merely a poetical tradition. Nevertheless, with all their ignorance, the name is given invariably in its correct form. Guiraut de Calanson writes "lo jove reys." Gaucelm Faidit writes "lo joves reis." Others call him "Henry." This Raimon Vidal de Beziers writes: "Henric ni'n Richard ni'n Jaufre." Peire du Vilar writes: "N'Anricx e'n Richartz e'n Jofres." Peire Vidal has clearly the same intention as the others, when he refers in the conventional terms to Henry and to his three sons.

²⁵ While it seems clear that Dante did not draw his information about the Young King from historical writers, it is remarkable that the famous comparison of Henry II. and the Young King to David and Absalom was frequently made by English chroniclers. William of Newburgh (*Rolls Series*, i, 233) writes of the Young King: "For he had stained his youth with an inextinguishable blemish, that is to say, with the likeness of guilty Absalom, as has been set forth above." The earlier passage referred to by William is in Chapter xxvii, in the sentence: "For he was so led on and encouraged by the violent exhortations of the French, that he was not deterred by the example of guilty Absalom from violating the law of nature."—Walter Map, who knew the Young King personally, uses the same comparison regarding him in his *De Nugis Curialium*: "One can compare him to Absalom, if indeed he was not a greater criminal; Absalom had one Achitophel, he had many . . ." (*Distinc.*, iv, 1).—So far as I am aware, Walter Map is the only historical writer who brings Achitophel into the comparison, but even in the *De Nugis Curialium* it is not Dante's one Achitophel, but many such, who are spoken of.—There is another reference to David and Absalom in Evans's *Old English Ballads*, i, p. 63, taken from Speed's *History*, p. 468: ". . . which being related to the father, hee fell upon the earth, weeping bitterly, and like another David for his Absalom, mourned very much."

²⁶ *Convito*, iv, ii; *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, ii, ii, 6 (ed. P. Rajna, p. 121).

In the French, the title of the "Young King" is frequently met with, and always given correctly. The *Bible* of Guiot de Provins has "jones reis." The poem appended to Wace's *Roman de Brut*²⁷ alludes repeatedly to the "jouenes roi." In the *Fragments d'une Vie de Thomas de Cantorbéry*,²⁸ there is one passage which reads "le jofne roi," and another having the forms "jofne roi" and "li jouve rois Henris." The life of St. Thomas à Becket by Garnier de Pont Sainte-Maxence uses the phrase "juefne Rei" on numerous occasions, while in the *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal* we find constant allusion to the "giembles rois." Henry's other title in France is "Henri au-Court-Mantel," found in the *Récits d'un Ménestrel de Reims*, the *Chronique de Pierre Cochon*, the *Chronique de Flandres*,²⁹ the chronicle of Philippe Mousket, as well as in the Fr. MSS. 9222 and 5003 of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. Yet never under any circumstances is he confused with the despicable *Jean sans terre*. Indeed, Jean de Brienne³⁰ who also acquired the title *Jean sans terre*, was never confused with the "John Lackland" of England.

Consequently it is evident that whether the title of the Young King came into Italy from the North or the South of France, the two sources would give the same result in Italian. In all cases, both in the Fanfani edition and in that of Pasquale Papa,³¹ we find that the author of the *Conti di antichi cavalieri* adheres to the form "re giovene," though the Provençal scholarship of the novelist was incomparably inferior to that of Dante. The novelist does not even know the name of the Young King's father, calling him respectfully "el padre."

In the *Cento Novelle Antiche* the form *Re Giovano* is clearly established, being used by contrast with "Re Vecchio."

Let us now pass to a change in the form "re giovene," or "Re Giovano." As time went on, a Christian name was invented for the "Young King," whose title remains unexplained even in the

²⁷ Ed. Leroux de Lincy.

²⁸ Ed. P. Meyer, 1885. Cf. also P. Toynbee, *Dante Studies and Researches*, 144, 253-255) (reproduced from the *Academy*, April 21, 1888, p. 274).

²⁹ Ed. Sauvage, 1562.

³⁰ *Récits d'un Ménestrel de Reims*, ed. N. de Wailly, pp. 71-80.

³¹ *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, iii, 192 ff.

poetry of Bertran de Born.⁸² As Provençal traditions became weakened in Italy, "Giovane" and "Giovano" became "Giovanni."

At first, both names were used. In Tale cxlviii⁸³ of the *Novellino* the expression "il Giovano Re d'Inghilterra" is used three times, but once we have "il nobile Re Giovanni d'Inghilterra." Dante commentators show this tendency fairly early. For instance, the *Ottimo Commento* (1333) speaks of "il Giovane re," but in another place says Bertran de Born gave his support to "King John, son of King Richard." Other commentators falling into the same error are Benvenuto da Imola (1379), who translates "Giovane" by "Juvenis," which he regards as a strange sort of proper name, used singly sometimes, and always begun with a capital letter; Landino (1480), who has "Giovane" and "Giovani": "Giovani el cui sopra nome fu Giovane figliuolo Darrigho dinghilterra," and writes "Giovanni" in two places; and Vellutello (1544).

Even Dante's own son (before 1333) is among the first to abandon the troublesome reading of "giovane" and adhere to "Giovanni." Graziolo de' Bambaglioli, the Falso Boccaccio (1375) and Postillatore Cassinese all call the Young King "John."⁸⁴

The commentators who fell into this error were evidently unaware of Dante's Provençal sources of information,⁸⁵ as is shown by their conjectures as to Bertran de Born's nationality. Benvenuto da Imola says that Bertran was "de Anglia, vel . . . de Vasconia." Vellutello makes the same assertion, as well as Landino. Jacopo della Lana calls Bertran a "cavaliere del re Riccardo d'Inghilterra!" The *Ottimo Commento* declares that Bertran "fu prima del consiglio del buon re Riccardo d'Inghilterra."⁸⁶

⁸² Bertran de Born calls him "reis coronatz" (Stimming, ed. of 1892, p. 67). This, however, seems a pretty obvious title for a king, and no further explanation is given.

⁸³ Biagi ed.; in Borghini ed., no. xxv.

⁸⁴ E. Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 349.

⁸⁵ For Dante's familiarity with the Provençal, see P. Toynbee in *Romania*, *op. cit.* For attempted restorations of Dante's Provençal text, see Raynouard in *Journal des Savans*, February, 1830: "Rétablissement de Texte de la Divine Comédie;" Bartsch, in *Jahrbuch der deutschen Dante-Gesellschaft*, ii, pp. 377-384, and P. Rajna, *op. cit.*—Benvenuto da Imola must have got the tale of Bertran's losing his wits for grief over the Young King from an Italian source. (See my article in the *ROMANIC REVIEW* for January-March, 1913, p. 25.)

⁸⁶ Yet it is possible, argues Scartazzini, that Dante fell into the same error as these commentators.

Likewise the *novellieri*, reliable at the outset, became contaminated as they fell away from their scanty Provençal tradition. P. Meyer calls attention to a late Italian form of certain of the *Conti di antichi cavalieri*, in which the form "Johans" is used exclusively in denoting the Young King.³⁷

This change occurs, however, only after Provençal tradition in Italy had practically died out.

To summarize the foregoing argument: I believe that Dante wrote "re giovane," but not because of the accuracy of his historical knowledge. Every other writer evincing the slightest real acquaintance with Provençal tradition wrote "re giovane" consistently.³⁸ This is the one argument to prove that Dante did likewise, but it is sufficient. It is wrongly implied that Dante drew upon the Italian novelists for the tradition of Bertran de Born and the Young King, for in the *Convito* Dante gives the troubadour precisely the place assigned by the novelists to his royal patron.

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³⁷ *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche*, Rome, 1903, iv, 84.

³⁸ There seems eventually to have been a feeling in Italy that though the form "Re Giovanni" was more intelligible, "re giovane" had a certain exotic distinction and elegance. Thus Busone da Gubbio gives the "Re Giovane" as the ancestor of Edward I. of England. (*Libro Secundo*, of the *Avventuroso Ciciliano*: the tale of Brundisbergo.) As a matter of fact, the "Re Giovane" left no heir. The "Re Giovanni," on the other hand, left as his heir Henry III., father of Edward I.

AN IRISH ANALOGUE OF THE LEGEND OF ROBERT THE DEVIL.

EVER since Liebrecht in 1869 first proposed the theory,¹ no one has seriously questioned that the source of the medieval legend of Robert the Devil was a popular tale belonging to the large and widely diffused cycle of "der Grindkopf." Subsequent studies have cleared up many obscure points in the development of the story, and have added many new variants to the few given by Liebrecht;² but, without a dissenting voice so far as I am aware, scholars have accepted the main hypothesis of a folk-lore origin as established.³ It is the purpose of this article to call attention to some hitherto unnoticed evidence, strongly confirmatory of the prevalent opinion, but also of a character to throw new light on the diffusion of the story throughout medieval Europe.

The fundamental theme of the group of folk-tales to which Liebrecht gave the name of the "Grindkopf" cycle⁴ may be stated as follows:⁵ A man and a woman, very often a king and queen, have

¹ *Göttingische Gel. Anzeigen* (1869), 976-9; reprinted in *Zur Volkskunde* (1879), 106-7.

² The most notable studies of the Robert legend in its relation to popular story are those of Karl Breul (*Sir Gowther*, Oppeln, 1886) and of E. Löseth (*Robert le Diable: roman d'aventures*, Paris, 1903). The subject is treated incidentally by Emil Benezé (*Orendel, Wilhelm von Orense und Robert der Teufel. Eine Studie zur deutschen und französischen Sagengeschichte*, Halle, 1897) and by Friedrich Panzer (*Hilde-Gudrun: eine Sagen- und Literaturgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Halle, 1901). The most complete list of variants is that of Panzer, *l. c.*, 252-4. To these may be added three modern Irish folk-tales translated by Dottin, *Contes Irlandais* (1904), 24-31, 31-39, 222-32.

³ See the references given by Löseth, *Robert le Diable*, xxxi.

⁴ From the title of a story published by Reinhold Köhler, in *Jahrb. f. rom. u. engl. Liter.*, VIII (1867), 253-6. Other names applied to the cycle are "männlichen aschenputtel" (Breul, *l. c.*, 117), "teigneux" (Löseth, *l. c.*, xxx; cf. *Romania*, VI, 212-6), and "goldenermärchen" (Panzer, *l. c.*, 251). These names obviously apply only to the latter part of the story as analysed above. The beginning is sometimes (as by Breul, *Sir Gowther*, 117) classified by itself as forming a separate cycle, that of the "kinderwunsch." See below, note 9.

⁵ I have made use here of the analyses given by Breul (*l. c.*, 118-29), Benezé (*l. c.*, 11-18), Panzer (*l. c.*, 254), and Löseth (*l. c.*, xxxi-xxxii), as well as of the following variants of the tale; Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, No. 136;

been married for a number of years, but to their great grief they have no children. One day a stranger appears and promises that they shall have a child (or, in some variants, children) provided that at the end of a specified period they will give it (or one of them) back into his keeping. They agree, and the woman bears a son—sometimes two or more.⁶ He grows up quickly and becomes a marvel of beauty and strength. At the end of the period fixed upon, however, he falls into the power of the stranger, who proves in some variants to be a demon, in others, a sorcerer, and in still others, a wild man of the forest; and is carried off to his captor's abode. One day, through curiosity, he disobeys one of his new master's commands by touching a forbidden object or entering a forbidden chamber; immediately his hair turns yellow, and his master sends him forth into the world to learn poverty. In some tales the episode of the golden hair does not occur; the boy leaves the demon's house against the latter's will, and usually with supernatural aid.⁷ After wandering about some time, he takes service as a menial in the palace of a king. Here his golden hair, which he has attempted in vain to conceal, attracts the notice of the king's daughter, who falls in love with him. From this point the different versions of the legend vary considerably. In some, the lad and the princess marry at once against the wishes of the king. In others, the king arranges a contest in which the person who catches an apple thrown by his daughter shall have her as his wife. The youth is victorious three times in succession. The third time, however, as he rides away, he is wounded by a knight sent in pursuit of him by the king; and the spear (or sword) breaks off, leaving the point in the wound. By means of this wound he is subsequently able to identify himself as the winner of the apple. In still a third group of tales, the king's enemies declare war on him and advance in great force against his city. Through the assistance of the stranger, his former master, the boy obtains secretly the equipment of a warrior, and without telling anyone of his intention, rides forth

Jahrb. f. rom. u. engl. Liter., VII, 253-56; cf. R. Köhler, *Klein. Schriften*, I, 330-334; Cosquin, *Contes pop. de Lorraine*, I, 133-154; 155-165; II, 89-97; 164-67; Laistner, *Zeit. f. deutsch. Alterthum*, XXXVIII, 113 ff.

⁶ Cosquin, I, 139, 140, 158, 164; Dottin, *Contes Irlandais*, 31-32. Cf. Breul, *Sir Gowther*, 120.

⁷ Breul, *l. c.*, 124-5.

and defeats the invaders. He does this on three successive days, and on the third day is wounded in precisely the same manner as in the stories describing the contest for the apple. Finally—and this trait is in all the variants—he marries the princess and subsequently ascends her father's throne.

Where or when this story originated we have no sure means of determining; and the point is of little importance in the present study. We know only that it has left traces in the traditional lore of most of the leading peoples of eastern and western Europe, including the Slavs, the Greeks, the Germans, the Italians, the French, and the Irish; and that tales containing parts of it have been collected in such widely-separated lands as India and Africa.⁸ Possibly, as Breul supposed,⁹ it was not in the beginning one story, but two—a tale of a child born to childless parents through the help of a supernatural being having been fused with a tale of the adventures of a lad with golden hair at a comparatively late stage in the evolution of both. However this may be, Breul's investigations have shown that we may be certain of at least one thing: that a popular tale not greatly different from the one analysed above was current in the oral tradition of western Europe, and particularly of France, as early as the twelfth century; and that during the course of that century, if not before, it developed into the legend of Robert the Devil.

This evolution involved a rather thorough transformation of the traditional narrative. The stranger who appeared to the childless couple became the Devil of Christian theology, to whom the wife appealed in her despair when all her prayers to God for a child had failed. The woman's promise to restore the child to the stranger was retained, as was likewise the description of the lad's extraordinary beauty and strength; but there was introduced an account of the mother's terrible sufferings at his birth, and the story of his abduction was changed into a simple case of demoniacal possession.

⁸ E. g., Stokes, *Indian Fairy Tales*, No. 10; Steere, *Swahili Tales*, 381. Cf. *Romania*, VI, 216-8.

⁹ *Sir Gowther*, 117. Benezé, on the other hand (*Orendel*, 13), and after him Löseth (*Robert le Diable*, xxxii, note 4), are of opinion that the two parts of the story were originally connected. The question, which is obviously incapable of a real solution, has no bearing on the present investigation.

The episode of the golden hair, now no longer in point, naturally disappeared,¹⁰ and for it was substituted a narrative of the boy's ferocity and deeds of cruelty, especially toward clerics. The whole first part of the story, in short, was made over with a view to picturing a man completely in the spiritual power of the Devil, and capable, therefore, of every kind of sin. From this state only one way of escape was open—repentance and absolution; accordingly, the boy's flight from the house of his master was transformed into a pilgrimage to Rome and an appeal to the Pope, who sent him for penance to a neighboring hermit. With the carrying-out of this penance, which involved as one of its provisions total silence on the part of the sinner, the legend again fell back on the popular tale, and followed it, with a few changes of no significance in the present connection, until the end. The end itself was altered: instead of marrying the princess, the hero announced his intention of retiring from the world and of becoming a hermit.¹¹

It is obvious that such a remaking of the old folk-tale could be the work of none but an ecclesiastic. The part played by the Devil, the boy's sinful youth, the repentance and penance, and finally the ascetic ending, all point to a purpose of religious edification. It is not surprising, therefore, that one of the earliest of the extant versions of the medieval legend should be found in a collection of exempla, that of Etienne de Bourbon in the first half of the thirteenth century. In this version, which the author professes to have heard "a duobus fratribus, a fratre, qui hoc se legisse asserebat," the name of the hero is Robert, and his father is described as a "certain count."¹²

Even before this, however, the story had penetrated into the world of laymen. Toward the end of the twelfth century a poet of northern France recounted the life of Robert in a "roman d'aventure"

¹⁰ If, indeed, it were present at all in the version, or versions, of the popular tale known to the ecclesiastic who constructed the legend of Robert the Devil.

¹¹ This ending appears in the four earliest versions of the story. In the later versions the hero, as in the folk-tales, marries the princess and ascends her father's throne. See Breul, *l. c.*, 129, and Löseth, *l. c.*, xxix, note 5. For an interesting attempt to reconstruct the primitive form of the legend on the basis of the earliest existing texts, see Löseth, *l. c.*, xx-xxix.

¹² *Anecdotes historiques légendes et apologues . . . d'Etienne de Bourbon*, 145-8. On the life of the author cf. *ib.*, ii-xi.

of upwards of five thousand lines, entitled *Robert le Diable*.¹³ Much more circumstantial in his account than the writer of the version preserved by Etienne de Bourbon, he was also in some respects less faithful to what must have been the original form of the Robert legend, omitting, for example, the woman's promise to return to the Devil the child she should have by his aid—a trait clearly of no significance in the story as he conceived it. Moreover, though in this he may have been only following his own immediate source,¹⁴ he took pains to attach the legend to a definite locality; Robert was the son of Aubert, a good and valiant Duke of Normandy.

Once introduced into the polite literature of western Europe, the legend of Robert the Devil enjoyed an extraordinary vogue in both the clerical and lay worlds, a vogue which lasted until well after the introduction of printing, and called forth a long series of new versions.¹⁵ Nor was this popularity confined to the region in which the story had taken form. By the fifteenth century it had penetrated into Germany in the form of a prose tale,¹⁶ and into England in the form of a metrical romance;¹⁷ by the end of that century, thanks to the printing press, into Spain; and in the course of the sixteenth, into England again in a new version, and into the Netherlands.

But the story of our legend in the Middle Ages is not completed when we have examined the versions produced on the continent of Europe. In a document which, so far as I can ascertain, has not hitherto been brought into the discussion of the subject, there is

¹³ Ed. Löseth, 1903 (*Société des anciens textes français*). For discussion of manuscripts, see *ibid.*, i-v; of dialect, xlv-xlvii; of date, xlvii-xlviii.

¹⁴ That such a source existed, and was literary rather than traditional in character, appears from such expressions as the following: "Si com jel truis en mon traitié" (l. 4550); "Si com jel truis en mon dité" (4765); "Si com l'estoire nous retrait" (5038).

¹⁵ These are enumerated and described by Breul, *l. c.*, 50-67, 70-106, 198-207.

¹⁶ See Karl Borinski, "Eine ältere deutsche Bearbeitung von Robert Le Diable," *Germania*, XXXVII (1892), 44-62.

¹⁷ *Sir Gowther*. See the edition by Breul, 1886. The sources of *Sir Gowther*, and particularly its relations to the story of Robert the Devil, are treated by Florence L. Ravenel, "Tydorel and Sir Gowther," *P. M. L. A.*, XX (1905), 152-78. Her conclusion is that the English romance exhibits a fusion of elements from *Robert le Diable* and the lai of *Tydorel* (ed. G. Paris, *Romania*, VIII, 1879, 66-72).

clear evidence that at a date earlier than that of the earliest extant continental versions, a tale closely parallel to the first part of Robert the Devil was current in Ireland. This tale forms the first half of the *Imram Húi Corra*, a work preserved in the fifteenth century Book of Fermoy, but in all probability composed as early as the eleventh century.¹⁸ It belongs in all its essential features to a large and characteristic group of early Irish writings, those, namely, which narrate the voyage of a saint out over the western ocean to the Celtic otherworld.¹⁹ Indeed, it is clear that the author of the existing text, who was evidently a cleric, had in mind as he wrote one of the most remarkable examples of this *genre*, the *Imram Mailduin*.²⁰ The work as he left it recounts the careers of three Irish saints, the brothers Lochan, Enne, and Silvester, whose feasts had been celebrated from at least the ninth century.²¹ It comprises

¹⁸ Edited, with translation, by Whitley Stokes, *Revue celtique*, XIV (1893), 22-69. An analysis is given by O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* (1878), 289-92, and a translation into German, by Zimmer, *Zt. f. deut. Alter.*, XXXIII (1889), 183-97. On the manuscripts see Stokes, *l. c.*, 22; on the date, *ibid.*, 24-5, and Zimmer, *l. c.*, 197-211. Beyond the fact that a story with the same title is referred to in the Book of Leinster (middle of the twelfth century) and that the Húi Corra "with their seven" are mentioned elsewhere in the same manuscript, the evidence for the date of composition is altogether internal. Stokes, a generally cautious scholar, thinks that the various criteria (chiefly linguistic in character) "point to the eleventh century." Zimmer holds that the piece as we have it cannot be older than the twelfth century, but argues, chiefly from the obvious lack of connection between the two parts of the extant version and the circumstance that the Húi Corra themselves play a very inconspicuous rôle in the voyage from which the story obtains its title, that the introductory portion was probably composed at a much earlier date, and had originally a different sequel. So far as the events of this part of the story can be called historical at all, they seem to belong to the period of the conflict between paganism and Christianity, perhaps the sixth or ninth century. See Zimmer, *Gött. gel. Anz.* (1891), 191, and note 25, below.

¹⁹ On the "Imrama" in general see Zimmer, *Zt. f. deut. Alter.*, XXXIII, 144-220; Hull, *A Text Book of Irish Literature* (1906), Pt. I, 127-37; Dottin, *The Gaelic Literature of Ireland*, tr. Dunn (1906), 26-7; Boswell, *An Irish Precursor of Dante* (1908), 120 ff.

²⁰ Ed. Stokes, *Revue celtique*, IX, 447-95; X, 50-95. The following sections of the *Imram Húi Corra* show traces of influence from the *Imram Mailduin*: 43 (*Mailduin*, ch. I), 47 (chs. VII, X), 48 (ch. XXXI), 49 (ch. XXVII), 50 (ch. XXV), 51 (ch. XXVI), 62 (ch. XIV). For other sources probably utilized by the redactor of the present version of the *Imram Húi Corra*, see Zimmer, *Zt. f. deut. Alter.*, XXXIII, 198-204.

²¹ Cf. *Féilire Oengusso Céili Dé*, ed. Stokes, Henry Bradshaw Society, XXIX (1905), vii, 255, and *Féilire Húi Gormáin*, ed. Stokes, *ibid.*, IX (1895), 251.

two parts clumsily fused together—an account of the births and early lives of the saints, and a narrative of their penitential voyage in search of the otherworld, the *Imram* proper. Colored as the work is with Christian conceptions, it yet reveals in both its parts numerous traces of more primitive imaginings. The first part, which alone concerns us here, is as follows:²²

There once dwelt in the province of Connaught a princely landholder, “a man happy, wealthy, exceeding prosperous,” named Conall the Red. He was married to Caerdeg, the daughter of the erenagh of Clogher; and the two had only one grief—they had no heir, all the children that had been born to them having died in infancy. “So one night, in his bed, the landholder said to his wife: ‘It is sad for us,’ says he, ‘not to have a son to be a fitting successor in our place after us.’ ‘What wouldst thou fain do therefore?’ says the wife. ‘This is what I would fain do,’ says the householder, ‘make a communion with the Devil, if perchance he would give us a son or a daughter as successor, who would take our place after us.’ ‘So let it be done,’ says the wife. Then they fasted against the Devil,²³ and the lady forthwith became with child, and was nurturing her pregnancy till the end of her nine months. Thereafter came unto the lady great efforts and mighty birth-pangs, and she bore three sons in that great bringing-forth, to wit, a son at the beginning of the night, and a son at midnight, and a son at the end of the night. And they were baptised according to the heathen baptism,²⁴ and these were their names, even Lochan, and Enne and Silvester.”

The three lads grew up to be “swift and strong on sea and land, so that they outwent their coevals in every play and in every fair discipline; and full lips and constant tongue had every one who used to hear them or see them at that time.” Indeed, the only complaint that any one could think to make of them was that they had been baptised into the Devil’s possession. When the three sons heard of this remark, they said to each other: “If it is the Devil who is our king or lord, it is hard for us not to rob and plunder and persecute his enemies, that is, to kill clerics and to burn and wreck churches.”

²² I have followed in this analysis the English version of Whitley Stokes. Professor A. C. L. Brown has kindly verified the translation of several passages.

²³ On this custom, which was widespread among the early Irish, see F. N. Robinson, “Notes on the Irish Practice of Fasting as a Means of Distrainment,” Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1909 (reprinted from the Putnam Anniversary Volume, 567–83); and C. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, I, cxx ff., cxxx.

²⁴ Cf. J. A. MacCulloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts* (1911), 308–9, and the references there given.

Accordingly, they formed themselves into a band of brigands, and proceeded to rob and burn churches and to maltreat clerics, till at the end of a year they had destroyed one more than half of the churches of Connaught, and the fame of their evil deeds had spread throughout Ireland. One day at the end of the first year, Lochan said to his brothers: "We have been very forgetful, and our lord the Devil will not be thankful to us concerning it." "What is this?" ask the others. "Our grandfather," Lochan replied, "even our mother's father; we have not killed him and burnt his church upon him." Thus reminded of their neglect, the three sons did not delay, but set out at once for the dwelling-place of their grandfather, the erenagh.

When they arrived at his church, they determined to postpone the execution of their plan until nightfall. In the meantime, the erenagh, who had somehow become aware of their intention, set before them food and ale, "so that they became exhilarated and mirthful." Afterward couches were spread for them and they fell asleep. While sleeping, Lochan was taken in a vision to see the joys of Heaven and the pains of Hell. What he saw so impressed him that on awaking he related it to his two brothers and counselled them to quit their weapons and in the future to follow God. This they agreed to do, and having been assured by the erenagh that God would accept their repentance, they exchanged their spears for staves, and went to seek Findén, "the foster-father of Ireland."²⁵

"Thus was it done by them. They fare forward on the morrow to Clonard, to the place where Findén was bidding. There was he then, on the green of the stead. 'Whom have we here?' say the clerics who were along with the saint. 'These are the Húi Chorra, the marauders,' says one of them. All who were along with Findén fled and left him alone. It seemed to them that the Húi Chorra had come to kill them."²⁶ To reassure the clerics, the brothers threw away their staves, and knelt down before Findén. "'What is your desire?' says the elder. 'We are fain,' say they, 'to believe and be

²⁵ Findén died in 548 A. D. See Zimmer, *Zt. f. deut. Alter.*, XXXIII, 197. On the place which tradition assigned to him among the early bishops of Ireland, see *Betha Fhindein*, ll. 2640-5, 2778-82 (in Stokes, *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, 79, 83; trans., 226, 230).

²⁶ Similar episodes occur in two of the early versions of the story of Robert the Devil. In *Robert le Diable* (ll. 353-68, ed. Löseth, 26-7) the hero is represented as of so terrible an aspect that at his entrance into Arques the inhabitants dare not come near him. In a German prose version preserved in a fifteenth century manuscript, the young king of France (who corresponds to Robert in the French versions) goes unbidden to a court which is being held in his dominions; as he approaches, the princes and lords flee in terror (*Germania*, XXXVII, 47, ll. 22-31).

pious and to serve God, and to quit the lord with whom we have been hitherto, even the Devil.'” Rejoiced at their resolution, Findén led them into the stead, before an assembly of clerics, who should impose a fitting penance for the brothers' sins. “Then the assembly made a resolve, to wit, that a son of the Church should be instructing them, that they should speak to no one save their tutor, and that their instruction should continue till the end of a year.”

At the end of the year they went again to Findén, and asked him to pass judgment on them for the great evils they had done—namely, burning one more than half of the churches of Connaught and killing the bishops and clerics. He replied that they might restore all of the churches they had destroyed together with their contents, and that he would give each of them for this the strength of a hundred men. One day, after they had completely carried out his directions, and were resting at Kinvara, they went down to the edge of the harbor and stood watching the sun as it traveled westward, and “they marvelled much concerning his course. ‘And in what direction goes the sun,’ say they, ‘when he goes under the sea? And what more wondrous thing,’ say they, ‘than the sea without ice, and ice on every other water.’”

This was the beginning of their project to go on a pilgrimage, “to seek the Lord on the sea and on the mighty main,” the narrative of which occupies the second half of the piece.

It will be readily seen from the foregoing analysis that in some traits the *Imram Húi Corra* resembles more closely the folk-tale, and in others the fully developed medieval legend of Robert the Devil. Like the folk-tale, it presents the lives of the three brothers as in the beginning free from sin, and their possession by the Devil as a later development. Like the legend of Robert the Devil, it exhibits traces of pronounced ecclesiastical influence: the being through whose agency the sons are born is the Christian Devil, and the act by which they come under his power, the purely religious rite of “heathen baptism.” Between the Irish and the French stories, moreover, is a rather striking parallelism of incident. In both is a description of the extraordinary sufferings of the woman at the birth of the children; in both emphasis is laid on the heroes' antipathy to clerics; in both an account is given, differing to be sure in details, of the sudden repentance of the marauders; in both we have a narrative of a journey to the head of the Church, in the one case to the Pope, in the other to Findén, the chief bishop of Ire-

land; in both, finally, at least one element of the penance is the same—like Robert, the sons of Corra must preserve silence. Whatever the real relations between the three groups of versions, this much seems certain: the Irish story while preserving some primitive traits not in the existing continental documents is on the whole closer to the medieval legend of Robert the Devil than to the earlier folk-tale.

What, then, is the actual historical relation of the Irish tale of the three sons of Corra to the continental narratives of Robert the Devil? The problem is not so simple as the relative age of the existing versions might seem to indicate; for we have no means of determining how much earlier than the end of the twelfth century the legend of Robert the Devil assumed its present form in France. The possible relations are three, which may be stated in the form of hypotheses, as follows:

1. Although the original folk-tale was unquestionably current in all parts of Europe, it was given the form in which we see it in *Robert le Diable* and the *Imram Húi Corra*—that of an ecclesiastical legend—in one of the Celtic countries. The *Imram Húi Corra* would represent, then, one version of a story which was common perhaps to the whole Celtic world, and which passed thence to the continent, possibly by the same channel as some of the Arthurian legends, and became the basis of the saga of Robert the Devil. This theory would at first sight seem to harmonize with the statement of the author of *Sir Gowther* that he had obtained his story "owt off a lai of Breyteyn";²⁷ but the likelihood that this assertion refers only to the twelfth century lai of *Tydorel*, which was almost certainly among the sources drawn upon by the author of the English romance,²⁸ and the general doubt as to the precise implications of the term "Breton lai," make it an argument of little worth. And apart from this the theory has not even probability to rest upon. For one thing, there is no evidence that the second part of the story—the lad's adventures at the court—ever existed in a Celtic version; whereas the two parts are frequently found together in folk-tales current in different corners of the continent.²⁹

²⁷ Ll. 28-30, 751-3; ed. Breul, pp. 136, 165.

²⁸ Ravenel, "Tydorel and Sir Gowther," *P. M. L. A.*, XX, 152-78.

²⁹ Compare, for example, *Jahrb. f. rom. u. engl. Liter.*, VIII, 253-6; Cosquin, I, 139-141; Panzer, *Hilde-Gudrun*, 256.

Again, there is nothing distinctively Celtic about the story of Robert the Devil—none of the peculiar marks of Celtic fancy and tradition which in the absence of more positive evidence go far toward convincing one of the Celtic origin of certain other medieval legends. Given the existence in France in the early Middle Ages of the tale of the lad with the golden hair, it is altogether unnecessary to look to Celtic lands for the origin of the legend of Robert the Devil. We may, therefore, dismiss the hypothesis as not only unprovable but also inherently unlikely.

2. At an early date, which could not have been later than the eleventh century, a continental version of the story, already much transformed from the original folk-tale and containing many of the features of the fully developed Robert legend, especially its ecclesiastical coloring, made its way into Ireland, and was there further altered into the legend of the sons of Corra. This theory would account for such similarities of incident between the *Imram Húi Corra* and the twelfth and thirteenth century French tales as the "mighty birth-pangs," the hostility of the young men to clerics, the fear inspired by their presence, their sudden repentance, the journey to the head of the Church, and the imposition of silence as part of the penance. As for the traits in which the Irish differs from the French versions, some of them, as, for example, the number of the children, the character of their childhood, and the details of their repentance, may have been due simply to a desire to adapt the narrative more fully to known facts concerning the saints of whom it was to be told. Or they might well be explained by supposing that the version which reached Ireland contained more primitive material than any of those known to us. For some of them, however, another and quite different explanation seems equally plausible. It will be noted that at least two of the traits in question—the birth of several children, and their early good conduct—occur in a number of variants of the folk-tale, including one current in Ireland,³⁰ though they are not to be found in any of the extant versions of Robert the Devil. This fact suggests a third hypothesis.

3. The two versions—the Irish and the French—developed independently of each other from the same or a similar folk original.

³⁰ Dottin, *Contes Irlandais*, 31-2.

At some time earlier than the eleventh century, the *märchen* of the wish-child who passed into the power of a demon penetrated into Ireland. It there became fixed in popular tradition, so that some of the incidents of the story have survived in Irish folk-tales to the present day.³¹ Moreover, precisely as in France, it early attracted the interest of Christian clerics, who took portions of the story and adapted them to the lives of three national saints. In this way was written the first part of the *Imram Húi Corra*. Naturally, while preserving many of the features of the *märchen*, it reflected Irish life and manners just as *Robert le Diable* reflected French life and manners.

Between the second and third hypothesis it is perhaps impossible, on the basis of our present limited and purely internal knowledge, to decide with any assurance, though it is exceedingly difficult to believe that two narratives exhibiting such close parallelisms in motive and incident could have come into existence quite independently of each other. I am not, however, greatly concerned to press this point. It is enough if this study demonstrates, as I believe it does, first, that Liebrecht was right in claiming for the legend of Robert the Devil an origin in general folk-lore rather than in local historical events, and, second, that its opening incidents were familiar in Ireland fully a hundred years before their earliest known appearance in the literature of the continent of Europe.

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[One is equally justified in assuming either that the Irish tale contains the earliest variant yet noted of a clerical version of a folk-tale, which is represented later by the continental Latin and French versions of *Robert the Devil*, or that this interpretation of a folklore *motiv* was given independently in two versions of a popular tale, written in similar environments. We have Irish versions of widely spread exempla, such as that of the "King who Never Smiled,"³² and of the "Bees and the Eucharist,"³³ and the author

³¹ See note 2, above.

³² W. Stokes, *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, xlv; cf. T. F. Crane, *Exempla of Jacques de Vitry*, 150-151; *Gesta Ramanorum*, ed. Dick, 203; Herbert, *Cat. of Romances*, III, 26-27, 391, 502, 538, 547; *Hist. litt. de la France*, XXXIII, 318.

³³ E. J. Gwynn, *Eriu*, II, 82; cf. A. Schönbach, *Wien. Sitzungs.*, Phil. Hist. Kl., CLVI, Part I, 58; Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 23, 388, 448, 517, 555, 613, 639, 647, 648, 719.

of the Irish tale, an ecclesiastic, may have made use of the popular story, told as an exemplum, in the form in which Étienne de Bourbon gives it. On the other hand in an age and community which believed in the actuality of intrigues between human beings and devils, and in the procreation of offspring as a result of such connections,⁸⁴ a view supported by the majority of medieval schoolmen, and cherished by Papist theologians down to the present day,⁸⁵ one can assume that this same interpretation was given independently by ecclesiastics, especially as a different form was given by them to the same story in the cycle of "L'enfant voué au diable,"⁸⁶ whose relations to the original folk-tale and to its other ecclesiastical variants need investigation. But the same class of writers was ready to attribute the birth of their saints to just such miraculous conceptions,⁸⁷ which were regarded as the consequence of an ungodly pact with the devil, when found in profane works.

G. L. H.]

⁸⁴ Riezler, *Gesch. d. Hexenprozesse in Bayern*, 23-24; Hansen, *Zauberwahn, Inquisition und Hexenprozess im Mittelalter*, 141-144.

⁸⁵ Hansen, *op. cit.*, 179-184; Delacroix, *Les procès de la sorcellerie au XVII^e siècle*, 110 ff. Janssen-Pastor (*Gesch. d. deutsch. Volkes*, 14th ed., VIII, 560, 611, 637, n. 2) have the credit of marking out the Protestant theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who had the same belief.

⁸⁶ P. Meyer, *Rom.*, XXXIII, 162-178; *Hist. litt.*, XXXIII, 375; Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 504.

⁸⁷ E. S. Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, I, 110-11; 115-118; *Primitive Paternity*, I, 7, 16-17; C. Plummer, *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae*, I, lxvii, n. 6, cxxxxii, clviii ff.

THE USE OF THE PLURAL OF REVERENCE IN THE LETTERS OF POPE GREGORY I. (590-604)¹

HOW the use of the "plural of reverence" developed from the time it originated down to the first works of Romance literature has never been fully described.² As a matter of fact, its very origin is still obscure. Was it due, as Grimm, followed by most philologists, imagines, to the influence of the use of *nos* for *ego*?³ Is it any wonder, asks Grimm, that when a person spoke of himself as "nos", he should be addressed with "vos"? This explanation does not seem to take account of the value of *nos* for *ego*, which is a plural of modesty (*pluralis modestiae*),⁴ whereas the *vos* for *tu* is just the opposite. The psychology of the transition from the *pluralis modestiae* (*nos*) to the *pluralis reverentiae* (*vos*) is not very clear.

Or does it, then, owe its origin to the generalization of a form of address to the emperors which became usual in the fourth century, when, with the administrative reform worked out by Diocletian, the imperial power remained one in two persons? As E. Châtelain⁵ points out, it was customary in addressing each individual emperor, to have in mind the imperial power and the two

¹ Migne, *Patrologie Latine*, t. 77. The text of the Benedictines (Migne's) is practically the same as that of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, tt. 1 & 2, *Epistolarum*, except for a very few vagaries of spelling of the eighth century which are given in the M. G. H. and corrected in Migne. But these can hardly be attributed to Gregory since the spelling of the Roman chancery is generally traditional. The order of the letters is also very similar, and that of Migne has been preferred because it corresponds more exactly with the references to Gregory's letters found in the subsequent ecclesiastical writers, which are, for the most part, accessible only in the *Patrologia Latina*.

² On this use in the Romance languages, see V. Schliebitz: *Die Person der Anrede in der Franz. Sprache*, diss., Breslau, 1886.

³ Grimm, *Deutsche Gramm.*, IV, p. 299-302, cf. Diez, *Gram. d. rom. Spr.*, iii, 57; Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. d. rom. Spr.*, iii, 97.

⁴ Draeger, *Hist. Synt. d. Lat.*, 1878, I. I. p. 25.

⁵ *Revue de Philologie*, 1880, p. 128-139, cf. O. Riemann and H. Goelzer, *Gram. Comp. du grec et du latin*, 1899, p. 766. It was a common practise in classical Latin to address one person of a group in the plural, having reference to the group, rather than to the individual member.

emperors. The plural thus became associated with the idea of majesty, and was extended to persons of high standing to express the reverence felt for their rank.

Whatever it was at its origin and we incline to Mr. Châtelain's theory, as having a better psychological basis and a closer relation in time—there is no satisfactory account of one of the stages of this development, *viz.*, the alternate use of *tu* and *vos* with the same person in the same speech or letter, and even in the same sentence, a usage which is still to be found in the early *chansons de geste*. V. Schliebitz (*op. cit.*, p. 15) says: "The reason is in the previous state of the vulgar speech. They had for quite a long time grown accustomed to the courtly *vos*, but the strict difference between *tu* and *vos* had not yet so well penetrated to the people as to prevent confusion, one being used in place of the other". This is tantamount to saying that the phenomenon has not yet found a complete explanation. That of Beyer,⁶ to the effect that the use of the singular along with the plural was due to a movement of passion in the speaker, does not fit all the cases.

Or again, to say that the passage from one to the other was caused by ignorance of their own language on the part of the people is hardly to the point. One cannot admit that to a certain form of speech there does not correspond an appropriate feeling, incorrect tho the expression may be from a grammatical point of view. If, in the twelfth century, a speaker could alternately use *tu* and *vos* to the same person and even in the same sentence, it was because this was constantly done around him: he had learned the usage as he had learned the rest of his language when a child. And when one recalls that this shifting from the singular to the plural and *vice versa* had been going on, even in the learned classes, for seven hundred years,⁷ some other explanation must be found.

The best way, perhaps, to study this complex and delicate question, is to take preferably the letters of some well-known and representative person whose intercourse was varied both in the quality of those with whom he corresponded, and in the circumstances of the correspondence. The cases in point must be not merely mechan-

⁶ *Die Person Pronom. im altfranz. Rolandsliede*, Halle, 1873, p. 12.

⁷ It began very clearly in the fifth century. See Ennodius (474-521), and *La latinité d'Ennodius*, par A. Dubois, Paris, 1903, pp. 313-316.

ically catalogued, but, as far as possible, every circumstance likely to throw light on the use of *tu* or *vos* or both, must be noted. This should be done for some of the most representative men of the intermediate period called Merovingian, because it was then that most of the phenomena connected with the transformation of Latin appeared in their most characteristic aspect. This is the reason why we have selected the letters of Gregory the Great: the date, 590–604, places him in the heart of that period; his intelligence and education preclude all idea of a slipshod use of the pronouns in question. He corresponded with a great many people of different ranks and professions. The relations, internal and external, of the church and the world were complex enough to diversify still more the subjects and the tone of this correspondence; and withal, the protocol of the Holy See had not yet adopted the fixed rules and the set language that were later to obliterate somewhat the epistolary manifestation of the more intimate personality of the popes.

In addressing the subdeacons, deacons, defensors, rectors, notaries, all of whom occupy, in the various cities of Italy and the islands as well as in Illyria and even Constantinople, subordinate positions, very often as his immediate agents, and with whom he corresponds on business, Gregory uses the singular (*tu* and *tuus*). It would be too long to give references; suffice it to say that out of more than fifty letters there is but one exception: the letter written to the subdeacon Savinus, who had left the church and, repenting, had made his submission (III, x). In this letter, recalling the subdeacon's dereliction, the pope uses the plural, seemingly to extenuate the effect of this reminder by making it less personal, just as we would use "nous" instead of "vous" nowadays to soften the tone of a reproach: "*Exeuntes maligni homines turbaverunt animos vestros*"; but he soon adopts the more natural "*tu*" with which he ends the letter: "*Te, ergo, fili charissime, decet ad unitatem sanctae Ecclesiae remeare*".

The plural (*vos* and *vester*) predominates and is generally used alone in the letters to the emperors Maurice and Phocas and the empresses Constantina and Leontia and to the imperial functionaries: exarchs, *magistri militum*, prefects, consuls, proconsuls, and ex-prefects and ex-consuls, dukes, praetors, domestici, scholastici,

treasurers, tribunes, curators, chancellors, counts, patricii, praepositi, doctors; also to the kings and queens Theoderic, Theodebert, Clotaire, Childebert and Brunehaut of the Franks, Bertha of the Angles, Agilulphus, of the Lombards, etc. The reason is that the subject of these letters is practically always a petition of some kind to personages independent enough to withhold the favor asked of them. This independence cannot, of course, be absolute and a connection of interdependence may, at times, be brought to the writer's mind. Whenever it is the case, "tu" is bound to be used. With the persons mentioned above, the suggestion is often that of a moment: the result being a return to the plural of reverence which is habitual in such letters.

Thus in his letter to Emperor Maurice (III, LXV, c. 662, B)—"pious emperor Maurice," as Bossuet says—Gregory will recall with "tutoiement" a formerly more personal relationship: the passage from the "vousoiement" to the "tutoiement" will take place in the same sentence to follow the movement of the feeling. "Ego autem indignus pietatis *vestrae* famulus . . . jure privato loquor, quia, serenissime domine, ex illo jam tempore dominus meus *fuisti* quando adhuc dominus omnium non *eras*". Then he returns to the plural, but further on, making Christ speak to the emperor: "Ad haec, ecce per me servum ultimum suum et *vestrum* respondebit Christus: Ego *te* de notario comitem excubitorum, de comite . . . Caesarem, de Caesare imperatorem feci".

To the magistri militum of the different provinces, Gregory always uses the "vousoiement". But, congratulating Gulfar (IX, xciii) on his zeal for the suppression of schismatics, he says: "*Habe*, gloriose fili, ex tanto talique opere praefixam de divina retributione fidutiam in qua *vos* . . . nostra adhortatio . . . confirmat". The paternal and intimate tone just appears in a short expression, without extending to the whole sentence. Then the pope at once resumes his formal attitude, perfectly natural toward a person from whom he can generally expect favors, not obedience.

In his letter to Godiscalc, duke of Campania, there is presented to us a new relation, that of the champion of right reproving whosoever does wrong. This duke has been violating monasteries, appropriating their possessions under various pretexts, holding them

responsible for the conduct of their members. Pope Gregory's tone is firm (X, XI, c. 1074, A): "Pervenit itaque ad nos magnitudinem *tuam* usque ad hoc esse impetu furoris impulsam ut non solum frangi januas monasterii sancti Archangeli . . . *feceris*". Then he shifts to the "vos" attitude to express his sorrow (B): "Quod si ita est contristamur et valde *vestram* sapientiam miramur. Nam si licitum *putatis* ut aliorum culpa alliis sit nosciva. . . ." But he soon resumes the more direct tone: "Numquid et diebus magnitudinis *tuae* multi de civitate in qua *consistis* ad Langobardos milites fuga non lapsi sunt?" and so continues in this more personal vein (p. 1075), "hortamur, magnifice fili, ut a memorati monasterii abbatisque ipsius *te* adversitate *contineas*". Having thus expressed his opinion in the firm and peremptory tone of the "tutoiement", he returns in the next sentence to the use of *vos* and *vester*, and finishes in this courteous attitude, probably wishing to soften the impression produced by the general character of the letter: "Et si quid est unde animi *vestri* fortassis offensi sunt, pro nostra eis interventione *remittite*, et ita *vos*. . . ."

In the case of Venantius, a former monk who had risen to the position of Patrice of Syracuse, Gregory does not forget the criminal desertion and the indissoluble tie which binds Venantius to the church. So he uses *tu* and *tuus* exclusively. "Multi hominum stulti putaverunt quod si ad ordinem episcopatus eveherer, *te* alloqui . . . recusarem. Sed non ita est quia ipsa jam loci mei necessitate compellor ut tacere non debeam" (I, xxxiv); "culpam ergo *pensa*". But later (XI, xxx) Gregory will address him in the plural, as he does all imperial functionaries, although he reminds him again of his past sins. The pope did not think it practical to hold a grudge too long; he could accept the "fait accompli".

In his letter to Martin, scholasticus (imperial counsellor) (IX, LVIII), who happens to be on the wrong side in a controversy between a metropolitan and his suffragan bishops, Gregory again uses "tutoiement" to mark his wary attitude, or rather his disapproval. This unusually severe tone dispenses him from flatly contradicting the "scholasticus." It serves also to indicate that the fiction of independence between an imperial functionary and the pope is discarded and that, in interfering in the quarrel, Martin is subjecting

himself to the papal rulings, like the members of the clergy. In but one sentence, in the middle of the letter, Gregory relaxes somewhat: "Sed tamen postquam fratrem et coepiscopum nostrum Joannem *vidistis*, in eo et nos vidisse *vos* credimus". In like manner must we interpret the use of *tu* in his letter to "Praejecta Illustris" (IX, LVII) approving her transaction with Fantinus, Defensor of Sicily. In this transaction (an exchange of two pieces of property) the clear subjection of both parties to the papal authority is emphasized by the use of the singular (*tu* and *tuus*): "Proinde cognoscentes (nos) quid inter dilectionem *tuam* et Fantinum defensorem nostrum . . . convenerit de portionibus *tibi* competentibus in Massalenas . . . et domo . . . quam Ecclesiae *obtuleras*".

But in most instances, the use of the "tutoiement" in his correspondence with these high personages is due to the affectionate, confidential tone assumed at intervals by the pope, or, which is nearly the same thing, to his taking the attitude of the spiritual father speaking to his favorite children. So is it in two of his letters to the doctor of the imperial court, Theodore. He has asked him to speak to the emperor concerning the pretension of the archbishop of Constantinople to the title of "Universal Bishop": "*Vos* qui ei (imperator) familiaris *servitis*, loqui ei liberius *potestis*," then, adjuring him to speak: "*tu* quidem, gloriose fili, pro Christo *loquere*" (III, LXVI).

In the other (IV, xxxi), he passes from the more usual *vos*, to the imperious *tu*, to adjure him to read the Scripture: "Quid est autem scriptura sacra nisi quaedam epistola omnipotentis Dei creaturam suam? Et certe sicubi esset gloria *vestra* alibi constituta et scripta terreni imperatoris acciperet, non cessasset . . . nisi prius quid sibi imperator terrenus scripsisset agnovisset. . . . Imperator coeli, Dominus hominum et angelorum pro vita *tua tibi* suas epistolas transmisit et tamen, gloriose fili, easdem epistolas ardentem legere *negligis*". This attitude, evidently, precludes the use of the distant and really vague *vos* which creates an impersonal atmosphere.

See also the short sentence in the singular in the letter to Count Narsis (VI, xiv, c. 807, A): "Omnipotens Deus sua *te* manu inter tot spinas protegat ut . . . flores *decerpas*" (cf. VIII, xxxv, to Leontius, Exconsul). The same note is sounded in the letter to the

king of the Wisigoths, Rechared (IX, cxxii), who had converted his people from Arianism to orthodoxy. In the midst of his congratulations for such a glorious deed comes this affectionate sentence: "Sed est mihi, bone vir, hoc Dei munere in magna consolatione quia opus sanctum quod in me non habeo diligo in *te*".

The tie of affection is thus brought out by the "tutoiement". In most of his letters to the high-born ladies with whom he seems to have acted as a director of conscience, we find it appearing and re-appearing—striking as it were, the key-note at intervals. Writing to Clementina, patricia (X, xv) to protest against a rumor accusing him of hostility to her (*gloriae vestrae* a quibusdam sit . . . nuntiatum quia aliquem . . . contra *vos* stimulum habeamus), in a single sentence in the singular he emphasizes his protest: "Ego autem, gloriosa filia, bona *tua* olim cognoscens, et praecipue castitatem quae *tibi* ab adolescentia comes fuit, in magna semper veneratione . . . *te* habui". And he goes on with the plural of reverence: "Sed ne vel nunc aliud cor meum esse gloria *vestra* suspicetur nullum mihi odii vel iracundiae circa *vos* scrupulum". In another letter to the same patricia, we observe a similar use of the singular in the first sentence: "Amandum presbyterum a Surrentinis ad episcopatum, gloriosa filia, electum esse *cognoscas*" (X, xviii).

To Theoctista, patricia (XI, xlv), he addresses a long sermon (in the *vos* and *vester* strain) advising her not to allow herself to feel annoyed by slanderous reports concerning her. Then he sums up this advice with the emphasis on the affection which has prompted this letter: "Haec, dulcissima et excellentissima filia, breviter (!) dixi ne quoties stultos homines *tibi* derogare *cognoscis* qualibet vel parvula mentis tristitia *tangaris*" and so goes on in the plural. This shifting from the distant to the personal tone with the emphasis laid on the closeness of the relation between the pope and his correspondent, may take place in the same sentence. Thus to Leontius, exconsul (X, li, p. 1108, B), "Sed quia, omnipotente Deo largiente, idonea est *vestra* sapientia, et rationes vigilanter ac subtiliter exquirere et creatoris *vobis* iudicium per mansuetudinem placare quoties ira animam invadit, mentem *edoma*, *vince te ipsum*". It is the order of the spiritual father to his son in Christ ending a sentence which had begun simply as a pious man's advice, hence the

change of tone. The same may be said of this one phrase in the singular in the middle of the letter to Libertinus, expraetor, in which he consoles him or his afflictions: "Forsitan enim, magnifice fili, aliquid illum (Deum) in prosperis positus *offendisti*, unde *te* clementi amaritudine vult purgare" (X, xxxi), cf. IV, xxiii, to Hospito, duke of the Barbaricini.

Gregory also assumes this attitude of a spiritual father in his letter to Theodelinda, queen of the Lombards, to enhance with an affectionate "tutoiement" his tribute of admiration for so pious a queen. "Unde omnipotenti Deo gratias agimus, qui ita cor *vestrum* sua pietate regit ut sicut rectam fidem tribuit, ita quoque placita sibi *vos* semper operari concedit. Non enim, excellentissima filia, de sanguine qui ab utraque parti fundendus fuerat parvam *te credas* acquisisse mercedem" (IX, xliii).

But it is especially with the members of the clergy, bishops and abbots, that the uses of *vos* and *tu* are diversified by the circumstances, although the underlying principle remains the same, viz., to emphasize or mark a direct connexion or dependence. This explains that with the bishops who have the pope as their metropolitan, the "tutoiement" is preponderant and is used exclusively in the following letters: I, xv, to Balbinus, bishop of Rosella, Etruria; I, xvi, lvi, Severus of Aquileia; I, xl, lxvi, Felix of Messina; I, liii, Felix of Siponto, Apulia; I, liv, Joannes of Sorrento; I, lxxviii, Leo of Corsica; I, lxxix, Martin of Corsica; II, ii, Praejectus of Narma; II, vii, xvi, xxiv, Maximianus of Syracuse; II, xiii, Importunus of Atella, Campania; II, xiv, l, Joannes of Veretri, Campania; II, xv, Paulus of Naples; II, xvii, Paulinus of Lipari; II, xviii, Natal of Salona (Spalatro) Dalmatia; II, xxxvii, xxxviii, Joannes of Squillace, Abruzzi; II, xliii, Felix of Agropoli near Salerno; II, xlv, Lucillus of Malta; II, xxv, xlv, Benenatus of Misenas; III, ii, Paulus of Nepesinus, Campania; III, vii, Joannes of Larissa, Thessaly; III, xiii, Agnellus of Fondi, Latium; III, xvi, Petrus of Barca, Africa; III, xx, Gratosus of Numentum (Lamentana), Sabina; III, xxiv, Leontius of Urbino, Umbria; III, xlv, Boniface of Reggio, Calabria; III, xlvi, Joannes of Gallipoli, Calabria; III, xlviii, Columbus of Numidia; III, l, Theodorus of Lilibaeum (Marsalla), Sicily; III, lxi, lxiii, Fortunatus

of Naples; III, LXII, Eutychius of Tyndaris (Santa Maria di Tindaro), Sicily; IV, v, Boniface of Reggio; IV, VIII, Januarius of Carale, Sardinia; IV, XI, XII, XIV, XXXVII, XLIV, Maximinianus of Syracuse; IV, XIII, Clementinus of Bizacium, Africa; IV, XXI, Venantius of Luna, Etruria; IV, XXII, Constantius of Milan; IV, XXXVI, Leo of Catana, Sicily; V, VI, Victor of Palermo; V, XII, Petrus of Trecala, Sicily; V, XIII, XXXIII, Gaudentius of Nola; V, XXV, Severus of Ficulum (Cervia), Emilia; V, XXXVII, Fortunatus of Naples; V, LVI, Marinianus of Ravenna; VI, IX, Donus of Messina; VI, X, Boniface of Reggio; VI, XVIII, XXI, Joannes of Syracuse; VI, XXVI, Petrus of Aleria, Corsica; VI, XXVIII, Candidus of Urbe Veteri (Orvieto), Etruria; VI, LXII, Petrus of Otranto; VII, XVI, Agnellus of Terracina, Campania; VII, XVII, Sabinianus of Zara; VIII, VII, Leo of Catana; VIII, VIII, Vitalianus of Siponto; IX, I, Januarius of Carale; IX, XVI, Serenus of Ancona; IX, LXX, Passivus of Fermo; IX, LXXI, Chrysanthus of Spoleto; IX, LXXXIV, Benenatus of Tyndaris; IX, LXXXV, XCI, Fortunatus of Naples; IX, LXXXVII, Gaudiosus of Gubbio; IX, LXXXIX, Severus of Ancona; IX, C, Sabinianus of Gallipoli, Calabria; XI, XXXI, Paschasius of Naples; XII, XLVII, Venantius of Perugia; XIII, XII, Paschasius of Naples; XIII, XVI, Passivus of Fermo; XIII, XX, Honorius of Tarento; XIII, XXX, Deusdedit of Milan; XIII, XXXVI, Chrysanthus of Spoleto; XIII, III, V, XIV, XXXVII, Joannes of Palermo. To these may be added Augustinus, the Apostle of England, direct legate of the pope (XI, LXIV, LXV, etc.).

In addressing any cleric or ordained person below the rank of bishop—abbot or abbess, priest or monk, “religiosus”—the singular is the rule. The only two exceptions are in letters addressed respectively, one to Mellitus, the other to Adeodatus, abbots, although the use of the plural ought perhaps to be explained by references to the congregation. Thus, in XIII, II, Gregory writes to Adeodatus in regard to some monks who had applied to the pope to have their monastery placed under Adeodatus’ rule: “Supplicantes a nobis . . . ut monasterio *vestro* . . . unire . . . deberemus quatenus per sollicitudinem *tuam* . . . locus ipse . . . valeat . . . disponi”.

It must not, however, be inferred that pope Gregory will never address the above-mentioned bishops in the plural. As we have

already seen, the use of the plural is simply an attitude which may be taken with any one. For instance, Gregory uses *vos* and *vester* in his letter to Demetrius, who was bishop of Naples at the time of the pope's accession (I, XIV). His first letter to Natalis, bishop of Salona (I, XIX), begins with *vos*, but continues in the singular, whereas, the second (I, XXI) does the reverse: it begins with the use of the singular and ends with that of the plural. The first one had begun with the distant *vos*, but soon had marked the relation of dependence of the bishop on the Holy See by the use of the "tutoiement"; the second letter started with this object in view, ending however with the more courtly *vos* to soften the impression, while in the subsequent letters the plural is quite discarded.

The first letter to the archbishop of Caralis, Sardinia (I, LXII), as is natural in a first letter, is in the plural; the second (I, LXIII) contains a mixed use of *tu* and *vos*; the others (I, LXXXIII, XLIX) are solely in the singular: the sentiment of direct dependence stands out alone.

The new bishops are congratulated by Gregory with the plural of reverence, but in the very first letter, he often passes on to the use of *tu* and *tuus*, indicating their subordination, and he finishes with the "vousoiement" to give this first letter a more formal ending; the subsequent letters are entirely in the singular. Beside those already quoted, we may mention the letters to Joannes, bishop of Ravenna (II, XXXV, XL, XLVI); to Boniface, bishop of Reggio (III, IV; IV, V; VI, X) to Constantinus of Milan (IV, I; II, III; XXII); to Marinianus of Ravenna (VI, I, XXIX, LVI); to Fortunatus of Naples (VI, XXXI; IX, LXXXV).

Many reasons may cause Gregory to vary from this usage. Thus, although he uses the "tutoiement" in writing to Natalis of Salona (II, XIII), he addresses him in the plural in letter II, LII. In the latter, he reproaches him with his bad conduct, and apparently to soften the expression of the blame, he adopts the less personal use of *vos* and *vester*. "*Haec ergo ad vosmetipsos trahite et si vos tales cognoscitis...*" (c. 595, C); he then passes on to the singular in a typical sentence: "*Sed si neque ego ad te neque tu aliquid pertineres ad me, jure tacere compellerer*" (596, B). He ends with the plural to express his (pretended) satisfaction with

the bishop's announcement that he is already mending his ways: "Valde vero epistola *vestra* gavisus sum quod *vos* exhortationi studium dare *fatemini*".

A somewhat similar reason may account for the use of the plural instead of the regular "tutoiement" in his letter to Maximianus of Syracuse (II, xxxiv), as in administering a reproof to him he wishes at the same time to avoid too sharp language: "Frequenter me admonuisse *vos* recolo ut in proferenda sententia esse *praecipites* nullatenus *deberetis*". The use of the singular in the same letter gives it a touch of familiarity and fatherly interest "sed fortasse ideo excedere in tali persona *permissus es* ut cautior in vilioribus *fias*".

In the case of Joannes of Ravenna, whom he has not allowed to wear the "pallium" more than four days a year, letter V, xi is quite characteristic. He wants to console him for this refusal. The frequent alternation of the singular and the plural is typical of the flexibility of the pope's mind and his attitude: the iron hand in the velvet glove, firm and fatherly. In a previous letter, ending in the plural, he had asked Joannes to send him word that everything was right: "*Vos* itaque ita *agite* ut mihi hac de re correctam causam sub celeritate *nuntietis*". But Joannes being inconsolable at the persistent refusal of the pope, the latter sternly rebukes him in letter XV, addressing him solely in the singular, for setting his heart on worldly honors. He thus ends: "Ad haec autem mihi non verbis, sed moribus *responde*". Later, however (VI, xlv), we have a letter entirely in the plural, very likely indicating that Joannes had made his submission, since no mention is made of the pallium and Gregory merely recommends somebody to him. Cf. VII, ix, a letter of thanks in the plural throughout; Joannes has sent his contribution to the Holy See and in exchange receives some advice; see also VIII, xxxiv to Joannes, bishop of Scilla.

Sometimes, a desire to be particularly amiable to one of the suffragans will cause him to express his affection in a sentence in the plural while the rest of the letter has the "tutoiement": "Nos vero omnino *vos* videre cupimus atque in Deo de *vestra* praesentia et salute gaudere" (VIII, to the bishop of Luna, Venantius).

On the other hand the new bishop of Salona, Maximus, is not

considered entitled to the "vousoiement" in the pope's first letter to him. He is summoned to Rome, in the singular, to answer an accusation of simony (VI, III). Gregory also emphasizes by the use of the plural his congratulations, at first given in the singular, to Sabini-anus, bishop of Zara, who had refused to side with Maximus (IX, LXXXI). Finally, appointing Marinianus, bishop of Ravenna, as judge of Maximus (IX, LXXIX) he addresses him with *vos* and *vester* exclusively. The different degrees of consideration deserved by each of the three bishops, in this affair, are thus clearly indicated.

When later the pope pardoned Maximus (IX, LXXXI) he again uses the "tutoiement" solely, which conveys an impression of firmness that must not be weakened by the pardon. Then Maximus "making good", he sends him the pallium, addressing him in the plural (IX, CXXV); the advice that goes with it is naturally in the singular: "Haec est, frater charissime, Pallii accepti ratio quam si sollicitè *servaveris* quod foris accepisse *ostenderis* intus *habes*".

On the other hand, writing afterwards to Marinianus, bishop of Ravenna who had been his representative at the trial of Maximus, being then addressed in the plural, Gregory now recurs to the "tutoiement" to blame Marinianus' lack of firmness in not punishing a nun who had left her convent (X, VIII). A subsequent letter to the same Marinianus (XI, XL) to encourage him to bear his infirmities with patience is also in the singular: the fatherly tone of the letter seems to call for it. Later, however, wishing to recommend some one to him (XII, v), he uses only the customary *vos* and *vester*, just as he had done when, some time previously, he had written to the bishop to justify his own conduct as pope (VI, XXIV).

Writing to Columbus, bishop of Numidia (VIII, XIII), whom he had once before addressed in the singular (III, XLVIII), Gregory asks him to stand by Paul, a bishop wrongly accused: this seems to require the plural of reverence, being, to a certain extent, a favor asked of Columbus. But to make him feel that he, Gregory, has the right to demand it, he passes on to the singular in the same sentence to emphasize the urgency of the request: "Qui quoniam querelas quas de eo ad *vos* pervenisse *signastis* non veras esse sed instigatione adversantium contra se asserit excitari et omnia se fudit, patrocinante veritate, *vobis cognoscentibus*, adiutore posse Domino,

superare, hortamur, dilectissime frater, *tu* ei . . . *debeas* adjuvare". Then he goes back to the "voussoiement" for a sentence of general import: "Nulla ergo *vos* res ab aequitatis studio, nulla suspendat potentia personarum". The rest of the letter is in the singular to mark his insistence. Cf. VIII, XXI to Joannes, bishop of Syracuse, whom he addresses in the plural, as he wishes to obtain a favor from him: the manumission of a slave.

It is indeed interesting to see how expressive the mixed use of the singular and the plural can be, and how perfectly it adapts itself to the variations in the attitude of the pope towards certain bishops. Take for instance Januarius of Caralis, whose wicked character had aroused the ire of Gregory: "Tanta autem nequitia ad aures meas de *tua* senectute pervenit ut eam nisi adhuc humanitus pensaremus, fixa jam maledictione feriremus" (IX, 1). This bishop had uprooted the boundary stones of the field of his neighbors and damaged his crops, and on a Sunday, at that! So Gregory addresses him in the singular to give him a piece of his mind.

But in the following letter (IX, III), the pope softens his tone somewhat, using *vos* and *tu* in the same letter: *vos* to advise him that it is against the law of the church to sell burial plots and that they must be given away free; *tu* to give him specific orders: the blame is softened by the use of the plural, the language of the orders is made more direct by the use of the singular. As a matter of fact, the tone of the first letter could not have been maintained without logically ending in the deposition of the bishop, and as Gregory did not want to go to that length, he had to recede from his first position, hence the use of *vos* and the attitude it implies. Later, even (XIII, IV), he asks him in a letter entirely in the plural to end his lawsuit with his colleagues: Gregory had indeed to be gentle with him.

In writing to most of the bishop enumerated above, the pope will sometimes use *vos* and *vester* when, having them well in hand, no special reason, as, for instance, some prescription which must be carried out, requires the more direct and imperious *tu*. Cf. X, XLIII, to the bishop of Luna, Venantius; X, LVIII, to Boniface of Reggio; XI, IX, to Leo of Catana; XI, XXV, to Januarius of Caralis. The plural in that case is purely of condescension. It is also found

in letters of recommendation (X, xii; XII, v). But in the numerous business letters written to advise the various bishops of a church or parish to be put under their care, or of a new oratory to consecrate, etc., Gregory avoids it as too cumbersome or affected (IX, lxx, to the bishop of Firmini; IX, lxxi, to the bishop of Spoleto; IX, lxxv, to the bishop of Naples; IX, lxxxix, to the bishop of Ancona). Notice this sentence in a letter to Sabinianus of Gallipoli (IX, c), "*Indicatum nobis est quod homines Callipolitani castrī in quo te, propitiante Domino, esse constituimus sacerdotem*".

But perhaps the most obvious reason for the "*vousoiement*" in Gregory's letters to his suffragan bishops is the wish to soften a reproach. Cf. IX, ciii, to Fortunatus of Naples, who, "*horribile dictu*", had suffered soldiers to be lodged in a monastery of women. The scandals reported to him were so serious, however, that they called for a firm attitude expressed by the use of the "*tutoiement*" in the next letter (IX, civ). Cf. X, xxiv; also X, xxii to Leo of Catana; XI, lii to Donus of Messina; XI, xlii, xliii, to Joannes of Syracuse.

Some time later, Paschasius was elected bishop of Naples. Gregory, wishing to keep this city well under his surveillance, addressed the new bishop in the singular, against his custom, in order to emphasize the tie of close dependence of Naples on Rome (XI, xxxi). He could then afford to relax to some extent, which he did in using the more courtly *vos* (XI, xxxiv). Yet, in XIII, xii, he returns to the exclusive use of the "*tutoiement*" to tell Paschasius "to leave the Jews alone".

Again writing to Deusdedit, bishop of Milan (XII, xxxviii) who wished to have his predecessor's will annulled, Gregory advises him firmly (with *tu* and *tuus*) that Constantius had a right to dispose, in favor of Luminosa, of the property he owned before becoming bishop of Milan; then he extenuates the somewhat curt tone of the order by finishing the same sentence in the plural. But later, on receipt of complaints against Deusdedit, he tells him to "make an inquiry", addressing him exclusively in the singular, to indicate the seriousness of the situation.

Gregory's use of *tu* and *vos* in his correspondence with the

bishops of Gaul or the metropolitans of Africa, Illyria, etc., is similar to that of his letters to the more important bishops of his own circumscription, Milan, Syracuse, Ravenna, etc.

He addresses in the singular Joannes of the Prima Justiniana, Illyria, to excommunicate him for a period of thirty days. Exception must be made for a single sentence, of which we can say nothing as the passage seems to have been tampered with in most manuscripts (II, VI). But to the bishop of Aix, Protasius, whose aid he needs to prevail on Virgilius to pay a pension to the Holy See, he uses the plural according to his custom when he wants a favor (VI, LV).

He addresses Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, in the plural (IX, cv), to praise him for his zeal, but begs him to curb his iconoclastic tendencies: the plural is evidently meant to extenuate the effect of the reproach. But Serenus taking no account of Gregory's advice, the latter sharply warns him to desist from breaking sacred images, addressing him with *tu* and *tuus* exclusively (XI, XIII).

Writing to Aregius, bishop of Gap, he uses *vos* in a preamble of general considerations on human affliction, but passes on to the "tutoiement" to grant to him and his deacon permission to wear the dalmatica; he asks him with *vos* and *vester* to go to the synod called together by Syagrius, bishop of Autun, and finishes by a personal request, in the singular, to report to him the synod's doings. This letter affords one more illustration of the fact that when Gregory grants a privilege to a common bishop he emphasizes the duty of the recipient to the Holy See by the use of the "tutoiement", just as he usually softens the reproaches he has to make by the use of *vos* and *vester*; he also addresses the bishops in the plural when he asks a favor and in the singular if the request is more in the line of a positive order.

In his letter to the bishop of Autun, Syagrius (IX, cviii), we also see that mixed use of *tu* and *vos* which adapts itself so closely to the writer's changing state of feeling in the course of a single letter or even a sentence. Owing to the importance of Autun and Syagrius, he hails the latter as one of the primates of the church, for which the familiar or equalizing "tutoiement" is appropriate: "Atque ideo multum *tibi*, dilectissime frater, in Domino condelec-

tor atque congaudeo quod sic eadem charitate *te* praeditum multorum testificatione comperio ut et ipse quae sacerdotis sunt decenter *exhibeas*". He confers on him the pallium, declaring Autun the first episcopal see of Gaul after Lyons. Then he passes on to the plural, which is less familiar, to impress on him an adequate sense of the duties attached to the honor, and finishes the exhortation by a sentence of a rather evangelical tone which starting in the "vousoiement" of the preceding, is enhanced by its ending with a use of *tu* of a somewhat mystical character: "*Linguae vestrae* exhortationi discant quod metuant . . . ut dum talenta credita lucro multiplicato *reddideris* in die retributionis audire *sis meritis*" (c. 1036, C). He returns to the use of the plural to advise him to see to it that the synod called together by him, Syagrius, should do good work. In shorter letters to Syagrius containing some particular orders, Gregory uses only the plural (IX, cxiii, cxv).

It may be seen that with a less important bishop like that of Gap, the respective use of *tu* and *vos* is diametrically different, a very natural and significant fact.

It was indeed natural that the conferring of an honor on the bishop of Gap should call for the "tutoiement", to emphasize the duty of the recipient to prove himself worthy of it, while such an advice to the bishop of Autun must be softened by the use of *vos* to avoid all appearance of arrogance.

We see him address Desiderius bishop of Vienne (XI, liv) in the plural to express to him his regret at having heard that he teaches grammar: the sentence in which he accuses him directly is in the singular but the general considerations on the incongruity of such a teaching in a bishop are softened by the use of *vos*.

Complaining of the evil of simony to Vergilius, bishop of Arles, he uses the plural down to the point when he wants to make clear the duty of the synod to cope with this great trouble, from which personal and direct address he returns in the same sentence to the vaguer *vos*: "*Atque ut synodus ad eradendum ipsam haeresim congregari possit insiste* quatenus cum dilectionis *vestrae* mercede melius ab omnibus caveatur quod auctore Deo, omnium fuerit constitutione damnatum" (XI, lv, c. 1173, A). The tone is personal just for this appeal.

Arigius of Gap and Aetherius of Lyons are simply asked to attend the synod, with the plural of reverence (XI, LVII, LVI).

His respective use of *tu* and *vos* is the same with bishops of Africa and Spain. Thus, asking Dominicus of Carthage to pray for him and discussing questions of doctrine and conduct with him, he uses the plural alone (VI, XIX, LXIV); but later (VIII, XXXIII), in the middle of a letter in *vos*, he introduces a sentence, in the singular, of a more personal and intimate nature to tell him how happy he is to see him so full of charity (in a spiritual sense): "*Quia igitur hujus virtutis igne succensum tuarum te prodit locutio litterarum uberi in Domino exultatione laetificor atque opto ut haec in te magis magisque resplendeat quia lux gregis est pastoris flamma*" (c. 935, B). The bishopric of Carthage is one of the oldest episcopal sees: for a time, under Cyprian, it had enjoyed a relative independence of Rome.

But the bishops of Numidia are more under his personal control: adjuring Columbus (XII, XXVIII) to stamp out the evil of simony, he practically writes the whole letter in the singular, except for the last two sentences, which, as frequently happens, are in the plural to give a courteous ending to the letter. He had already asked Columbus (XII, VIII) to punish a guilty priest, but subsequent news having convinced him that the fight against simony must go on more energetically, Gregory writes to the primate of the province, Victor (XII, XXIX), repeating the same orders, in almost the same tone, in the singular, but he passes to general considerations in the second part of the letter, which calls for the less personal use of the "*vousoiement*". Only two sentences of the letter to the suffragan bishop, Columbus, are in the plural, while the plural is used in practically half of the letter to Victor.

The letter to Leander, bishop of Seville (IX, CXXI), is quite interesting for its use of *tu* and *vos*. Leander, an old friend of the pope, has remained very dear to him: the singular seems particularly appropriate: "*Coepit quisque amoris manu in suo corde te rapere quia in illa epistola tuae mentis dulcedinem non erat audire sed cernere*" (c. 1051, A). But the dignity to which both have been raised requires some use of the plural: "*Vitam vero vestram cujus ego semper cum magna veneratione reminiscor*". Returning to the

confidential tone, he writes with melancholy: "Neque enim, bone vir, hodie ego sum ille quem *nosti*". But he resumes the dignified attitude (in *vos*) to the end of the letter, to sympathize with Leander's suffering due to gout: "De podagrae vero molestia sanctitas *vestra* . . . affligitur", and to confer on him the pallium, cutting short the customary admonitions which go with it: "Quo transmisso, valde debui qualiter *vobis* esset vivendum admonere, sed locutionem supprimo quia verba moribus *anteistis*".

There is less variety in the letters written to the patriarchs of the Oriental church, who for a long time had been on an almost equal footing with the bishop of Rome and still retained something of this dignity.

The great danger was of course in the pretensions of the bishop of Constantinople, who called himself "Universal Bishop". So the policy of Gregory was always to isolate the Patriarch of Constantinople from the other Oriental bishops (Alexandria, Antioch, etc.). Cf. letter VII, XL, to Eulogius of Alexandria, in which he speaks of the apostolical sees, Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, all founded by Peter. Gregory always addresses them in the plural, except for a heart-to-heart talk, either more confidential or more emphatic, which may find place in the letter. See for instance the letter to Anastasius of Antioch (V, xxxix, c. 764, A): "Et quidem scio quod post illa quietis culmina in quibus secreta coelestia cordis *tangebamus* manu grave valde sit exteriora tolerare. Sed *memento* quia apostolicam sedem regis et dolorem citius *temperamus* quoniam omnibus omnia *factus es*". Cf. X, xxxix, to Eulogius, patriarch of Alexandria, c. 1096, C: "Nam veritatis minister, Petri sequax, et sanctae Ecclesiae praedicator, scio quia illa loqui *potuisti* quae de sede Petri apostoli per os doctoris sonare debuerunt". In another letter to the same he had said: "Scio enim mihi *fratres estis*, moribus *patres*" (the plural of reverence was still, of course, a real plural).

In regard to the lesser bishops like those of Corinth and Salonica, Gregory assumes direct control over them, probably in an attempt to sever their connexion with Constantinople. Take, for instance, this letter (X, XLII) to Eusebius, Archbishop of Salonica. He begins by congratulating him on his pure faith. The passage is not unctuous but firm, and contains an implied warning that he,

Gregory, the defender of Orthodoxy, is very strict in those matters; so he addresses him in the singular. He continues, however, in the plural, to recommend to Eusebius a great severity in his dealings with those who do not accept the synod of Chalcedon. He insists that Eusebius shall carry out his orders very carefully. The use of *vos* softens the imperious language of the orders, just as the "tutoiement" of the congratulations brought out the firmness of Gregory's attitude and the practical object of his compliments, namely, to strengthen Eusebius in his fidelity to Rome.

Later this use of the singular implying close dependence of Salonica on Rome is still more emphasized (XI, LXXIV). Gregory begins with the plural; when he comes to the particular orders, he puts in the singular the verb which expresses the special command, but returns immediately to the use of the plural: "*Haec igitur, frater charissime, diligenter attende, et ita stude ut et filios vestros unitos ac devotos sicut decet habere possitis et hac de causa denuo ad nos querela non redeat*" (c. 1214, A).

With equal nicety, in his letter to Joannes, bishop of Corinth (V, LVII) the expression follows back and forth in the same sentence the varying sentiment, from the dignified tone to the earnest: "*Videat (populus) in vobis quod diligit . . . Exemplo vestro doceatur. A recto itinere, te duce, non deviet, ad Deum vos sequendo perveniat, ut tot ab humani generis Salvatore retributiones accipias*" (c. 790, C).

His letter, III, LIII, to Joannes, bishop of Constantinople, is also curious from the point of view of alternate use of *tu* and *vos*. With a bishop who aspired to the first place in the church, Gregory had to be careful to seize on the right occasion to interfere and impress upon him a due feeling of subordination. This occasion presented itself when Joannes had a priest whipped. Gregory having asked him for some information concerning a punishment so contrary to law, Joannes: "*rescripsit mihi (Gregorio) . . . sancta fraternitas tua quia nescierit de qua causa scriberem*". The use of the singular clearly indicates Gregory's determination to assert the prerogative of Rome. Pretending, however, to believe that Joannes did not write the letter, because "*os quod mentitur occidit animam*," he resumes the courtly *vós*. He then tries to win him over by a tender,

brotherly appeal in the singular. Returning to the dignified tone (with *vos*), he asks him whether the bishop of Constantinople will respect the canons and remain what he, Gregory, knew him to be once. He then adjures him again, insisting in the hope of touching his feelings, which tone calls for "tutoiement". The letter ends with the more distant plural.

But Joannes' pretensions, far from abating, become so bold that the pope rebukes him very sharply for daring to assume the title of "episcopus universalis", this in the singular: "Quem tamen adeptum (episcopatum) exercere *desideras*, ac si ad eum ambizioso desiderio *cucurisses*". He threatens him in a sentence artfully combining the singular and plural: "Et si emendare *nolles* illum missarum solemniam cum fraternitate *vestra* celebrare prohibui", for he does not want to break with him but simply show himself firm, (V, xviii; cf. VI, xv). Later he writes to Joannes' successor, Cyriacus, a letter of love, merely begging him to abstain from too ambitious a title (VII, iv). He addresses him only in the plural (cf. VII, v, xxxi).

As a rule, bishops writing to Gregory only use the plural, as in III, lvii. But Licirianus, bishop of Carthage, who stood high on account of his reputation for sanctity before Gregory's elevation to the papal throne, uses the singular in his letter to the pope (II, lrv). What he says is in keeping with the use of the "tutoiement". He is not dazzled by the title of Gregory and discusses with him on a footing of equality. Gregory had asked that only well qualified clerics should be ordained priests. But Licianus answers that as priests must be ordained anyhow, he cannot be so particular. But a more reverential tone appears towards the end, beginning in a mixed sentence (c. 602, C): "Dignetur ergo beatitudo *vestra* opus ipsum de libro sancti Job sed et alios libros morales quos fecisse *te memoras* . . . *Tui* enim sumus, *tua* legere delectamur (a compliment to the author, somewhat offset by the use of the singular). Incolumen coronam *vestram* . . . sancta Trinitas Deus conservare dignetur . . . beatissime Pater". Such an independent attitude is rare.

As for the use of the singular, practically nothing can be inferred from one exceptional sentence, in a letter of Richaredus, King of the

Goths, to the pope (IX, LXI), since that king lived outside Romania, and we may presume that the various and subtle influences that were shaping this new form of expression acted less directly in foreign countries.

From the foregoing, it will be seen that the use of the plural of reverence and its alternation with the "tutoiement", was quite different from modern usage. It was a sort of attitude or tone that could be assumed or abandoned at pleasure, according to the various shades of feeling of the speaker (or writer) from one instant to another.

As for modern usage, people to-day in speaking French have very little occasion to pass from the plural to the singular or vice-versa. The use of the singular has been practically superseded by that of the plural in relations with strangers (except to some extent among the working classes). Sometimes however the speaker will change from "tutoiement" to "vousoiement" and conversely when he notices his mistake in addressing in one form a person with whom the other would have been more appropriate. Sometimes also indignation or anger will bring about such a change, which in any case cannot but have a comical effect. Take for instance this extract from a letter of Madame de Sévigné to her daughter: "*Je vous répons bien sérieusement, ma fille, j'en suis honteuse; car tant que tu parleras en enfant, je ne dois pas prodiguer la raison et le raisonnement*".⁸

Nevertheless, such are rare: centuries of use have brought about sclerosis of function. *Tu* and *vous* no longer respond to every fluctuation of sentiment. At the time of Gregory the Great, on the contrary, the introduction of the plural of reverence had not substituted one usage for the other; it had rather added a new one. Its object was to give expression to shades of sentiment that could not be adequately rendered in classical Latin. The "vousoiement" grew into use to express a feeling of distance and respect to a person of rank, while affection and intimate connexion with him were best brought out by the use of the singular. On the other hand, the plural having come to indicate independence on the part of the per-

⁸ Cited by P. Janet, *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, 1884, I, septembre, p. 55; cf. V. Schliebitz, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

son addressed, a relation of subordination was emphasized by the "tutoiement" when the situation called for it. Yet sometimes such a relation was best veiled by the use of the plural as, for instance, to extenuate the impression of arrogance that might be made by the promulgation of orders or the expression of censure.

All these shades of feeling might and often did succeed one another, thus causing an alternation of plural and singular which seems so strange to us, especially when it occurs in a single sentence. Moreover, according to the reciprocal relations of the respective parties, the significance of the "tutoiement" and "vousoiement" would shift. An expression of affection addressed to a person of low rank, for example, might call for the plural, while in the case of a personage of superior position the singular would be in place; and again, for the expression of a command in similar cases, the converse would be true. The speech processes concerned in all this evolution were of course very gradual, and traces of the primitive state of affairs are to be found in old French and even down to the present time.

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MISCELLANEOUS.

ANOTHER PARALLEL TO THE FIRST CANTO OF THE *INFERNO*

IN its conception of a journey through the other world, the *Divina Commedia* has long been seen to belong to the same literary tradition as the visions of St. Paul (so-called), of Tundale, of Alberic, and others, the legends of St. Patrick's purgatory and of the voyage of St. Brendan,¹ and the account of Aeneas' visit to Hades, in the sixth book of Virgil's *Aeneid*.² To the opening event of the *Inferno* several parallels have been observed. The three beasts who threaten Dante recall the *leo, lupus, pardus* of *Jeremiah*, V, 6. Virgil, essential of course in the main narrative, corresponds to the Sibyl in the *Aeneid* and the conductor or admonisher in certain others of these works. The action is suggested in an allegorical poem by Baudouin de Condé; the dreamer, after traversing a path "aspre et dure," meets an old man who instructs him, and is conducted by an angel to paradise. Here there are no threatening beasts.³ There is more similarity in the vision recounted in Latin rhymed verses at the end of editions of the *Psalterium decem chordarum* by Joachim da Fiore.⁴ The dreamer, after wandering for five days through arduous places, finds his way closed by lynxes, lions and serpents, and then sees before him a bridge crossing a fiery river of torture and leading to paradise. There is nothing corresponding to Virgil, nor does the vision seem to be allegorical.

¹ Cf. d'Ancona, *I precursori di Dante* (Florence, 1874); the Ciardetti edition of Dante's works (Florence, 1830), V, 281 ff.; *Edinburgh Review*, XXX, 317-321; etc.

² Dante's work resembles rather the last three in representing the journey throughout as actual and not visionary. He never uses the word *visione* of the experience except once in the *Paradiso* ("Tutta tua vision fa manifesta": *Par.*, XVII, 128); in *Par.*, XXXIII, 62, he uses it of his final symbolic sight of God. Cary's title for his translation, *The Vision*, was hardly well chosen.

³ D'Ancona, *Precursori*, pp. 86, 87; *Hist. Litt. de la France*, XXIII, 280-2.

⁴ Ozanam, *Poètes franciscains en Italie au treizième siècle* (6th edition), pp. 476-8. Renan was inclined to attribute the poem to Joachim (*Revue des deux mondes*, LXIV, 100), whom Dante sees in paradise (*Par.*, XII, 140).

It is of some interest to observe another small analogue, which contains parallels to all the figures in Dante's first canto, the symbolic beasts and the encourager sent by the Virgin Mary, though it is not a vision of the other world. It comes from Italy a century before Dante wrote and is recorded in the *De invectionibus* of Gerald de Barri.⁵ This flighty Welsh archdeacon wasted years of his life working and intriguing to secure for himself the see of St. David's, and wrote this work by the advice of Pope Innocent III as a defense of his conduct. He tells in it how his hope had been buoyed up by more than thirty visions, which befell himself and various acquaintances and seemed to bode his success. We come to suspect that among his humbler neighbors the seeing of encouraging visions may have become quite a lucrative industry. In the fifteenth vision Gerald was seen to be attacked successively by a grey and a white wolf, both being instigated by a larger, reddish wolf; but the valiant churchman disposed of both, like Samson, by rending their jaws asunder, seeing which the third ran away with his tail between his legs. After this there appeared a splendid lady, followed by a venerable man bearing precious vestments, with which at her bidding he clothed Gerald. These two the dreamer learned were the Virgin Mary and St. David. Gerald informs us that the grey and white wolves were the abbots of St. Dogmael and Whiteland, respectively, two of his rivals for the see of St. David's.⁶ The episcopal-purple wolf was Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, a chief agent in Gerald's disappointment.

This dream "visum fuit apud Ferentinam puero," says Gerald. During his third visit to Rome, in 1203, he followed the pope from place to place urging his cause, and we find that Innocent III signed at Ferentino from 14 May till late in September of that year, having been driven there by sedition among the Romans, and that

⁵ Giraldus Cambrensis (Rolls Series, 1861-91), I, 168. It was also in the lost portion of his *De rebus a se gestis*.

⁶ Their monastic dress was of those colors. The reformed Benedictine monks of St. Dogmael's abbey in Pembrokeshire wore "at first a light grey, which was afterward changed into black" (Dugdale's *Monasticon*, 1817-30; vol. IV, 128), while the monks of Albalanda or Whiteland in Caermarthenshire, the mother-house of the Welsh Cistercians, of course wore white (*ibid.*, V, 591-2; Gir. Cambr., IV, 129). On Gerald's long-standing dislike of the Benedictines and Cistercians, cf. his *Itinerarium Kambriae* (Rolls Series, vol. VI, 41).

he seems to have been there at no other time during his pontificate before 1206, when Gerald had given up the struggle.⁷ This establishes the date of the vision as 1203. The boy seems to have been the only Italian among all these dreamers, of whom one was Gerald himself, one was his old teacher in Paris, and most if not all the others were Welsh. It is nothing new to find an Italian boy imposing on a foreigner, and this youth may have remembered some pious allegory or legendary vision current in Italy. The color of the wolves was probably due to Gerald's own imagination, for the Italian can hardly have been acquainted with the garb worn by three British prelates. It seems unlikely that Gerald invented this or the other visions, for though credulous and vindictive he was not elaborately dishonest; yet since this vision has some resemblance to two of the others, in which Gerald is attacked by beasts, it may owe more than color to him. Of course Dante knew nothing of Gerald's work, and with so original a poet small parallels are nothing more than interesting. At all events this one shows still further how widespread in tradition and literature were the conceptions from which he started.

I add here another small note on the *Inferno*. Speaking of the punishment in Tolomea (XXXIII, 130 ff), where souls who have been traitors to friends and guests are tormented before the death of their bodies, which are meanwhile animated by fiends, Scartazzini says, "L'ingegnosa invenzione è presa dalle parole del Vangelo (Joh. XIII, 27) 'Et post bucellam introivit in eum Satanas.'" Arturo Graf⁸ relates several stories of demons reanimating corpses. In John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*⁹ there is a stronger suggestion of Dante's idea, sinful souls are conceived as swallowed up in hell while their bodies seem alive: "Nam qui captivi uitiorum impulsu trahuntur ad penam sicut bos immolandus ad uictimam, abeuntes post concupiscentias suas, etsi corpore uideantur inhabitare superficiem terrae, uiui tamen absorti sunt et descendunt in infernum uiuentes." Dante's idea seems like a sort of combination of such stories as Graf's and John's conceit. Strikingly enough the

⁷ *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Potthast, I, 166-174; Gir. Cambr., III, 71-4, 85, 282-6. Gerald started home from Ferentino (*ibid.*, III, 289).

⁸ *Miti, leggende e superstizioni del medio evo*, II, 98-100.

⁹ Bk. III, ch. 8; ed. Webb, Vol. I, 190.

chapter in the *Policraticus* is headed "De mundana comedia, uel tragedia," and the second sentence before that above runs, "At, si nostra tempora propheticus spiritus concepisset, diceretur egregie quia comedia est uita hominis super terram, ubi quisque sui oblitus personam exprimit alienam," which reminds one equally of Dante and Shakespeare.

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A NOTE ON THE ELLIPSIS OF *y* BEFORE *irai*

IN his Columbia University dissertation on *Ellipsis in Old French* (New York, 1911), Dr. W. E. Knickerbocker treats briefly the disappearance of the adverb *i* before the future and conditional of the verb *aler* (p. 26). In his opinion, the rarity of *J'y irai*, etc., in modern French is not due merely to an instinctive avoidance of hiatus, but is a case of coalescence of the adverb with the initial vowel of the verb. Cases occur more frequently in oral than in written discourse, and, many careful writers doubtless replace the missing adverb by a phrase, or use another verb, as: *je m'y rendrai*. However, two examples are quoted by Littré in which the adverb is clearly understood. Littré's note on the usage is worth quoting in full (section 10 under *y*):

"Des grammairiens ont dit que, quand le verbe qui suit *y* commence par un *i*, on supprime ce pronom pour éviter la rencontre de deux *i*, qui formerait un son désagréable, et qu'ainsi, au lieu de: Il m'a dit qu'il y irait, il faut: Il m'a dit qu'il irait. C'est une vaine délicatesse d'oreille. Du reste, voici des exemples de cette suppression: On m'écrivit que vous étiez à Paris. . . . pour moi, je n'irai pas cette campagne. Bussy-Rabutin, Lettre à Mme de Sévigné, 23 mai, 1667. Ne vous étonnez pas si je prends Paris toujours plus en haine; je n'irai jamais. J. J. Rousseau, Lettre à Mme d'Épinay, jeudi, 1757."

That the full form was used in old French is shown by Dr. Knickerbocker in a series of examples, to which may be added from *Ami et Amile*, a text not included in his investigation, line 2280:

Noz i ironz, se voz le conmandez.

This note was first suggested by the discovery of another passage from Jean-Jacques Rousseau, which is of interest for its explicit recognition of this suppression, rarely mentioned in grammars:

"Je viens d'entendre un pauvre enfant grondé par son père pour lui avoir dit: *mon père, irai-je-t-y?* Or on voit que cet enfant suivait mieux l'analogie que nos grammairiens; car puisqu'on lui disait *Va-s-y*, pourquoi n'aurait-il pas dit, *Irαι-je-t-y?* Remarquez de plus avec quelle adresse il évitait l'hiatus de *irαι-je-y* ou *y irαι-je?* Est-ce la faute du pauvre enfant si nous avons mal à propos ôté de la phrase cet adverbe déterminant *y*, parce que nous n'en savions que faire?"

Émile, Livre I (p. 48, ed. Garnier)

Another example is found in Molière:

"Georgette. Vas-y, toi.

Alain.

Vas-y, toi.

Georg.

Ma foi, je n'irai pas.

Al. Je n'irai pas aussi."

École des Femmes, I, 2.

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OLD FRENCH ϵ AND ϵ

THE distinction between O. F. $e < \text{ĩ}$ and \bar{e} in position, and $\epsilon < \bar{\epsilon}$ in position, is still observable in a few modern dialects; Nyrop (*Gram. Hist.*, vol. I, par. 154) mentions those of Lorraine and Burgundy. In most dialects however, $\epsilon > \bar{\epsilon}$. The precise date of this change is hard to determine. Apparently it began in the XIIth century, but varied with the dialects, and perhaps took place in certain groups of words earlier than in others according to the position of the vowel in the syllable, and the nature of the following consonant or consonants. This question has been discussed by Suchier (*Z. r. Ph.*, III, p. 128), Foerster (*Z. r. Ph.*, XXVIII, p. 508) and quite recently by Vising (*Z. f., S. L.*, XXXIX, pp. 1. ff.) under the title: *Die E-Laute im Reime der Anglo-Normannischen Dichter des XII. Jahrhunderts*.

The second of these articles contains a list of O. F. texts which seem to distinguish $e < \text{ĩ}$ and $e < \bar{\epsilon}$ in their rimes. Foerster says, p. 508:

"Es scheint noch nicht allgemein bekannt zu sein, dass dieser von Böhmer s. Z. im Roland scharfsinniger Weise entdeckte Laut (i. e. *ɛ*) sich mundartlich stellenweise bis zum heutigen Tag erhalten oder eigenartig weiterentwickelt hat, und ferner in einer grossen Reihe altfranz. Texte noch geschieden findet. Suchier in seiner Grammatik (1893 S. 21 par. 16 e) führt ausser Roland und Aucassin als dritten Text L. Krön.² 39-41, an, und vergisst nicht darauf hinzuweisen dass noch G. Clerc und R. Houdan die beiden *e* in Reime streng scheiden. G. Paris Ambroise (1897) XXIV Anm. 6 fügt zu seinem Text noch J. Bodel und "même à ce qu'il semble, Adenet le Roi" hinzu; was Walberg in seiner sorgfältigen Bestiaireausgabe (1900) S. XLII wiederholt."

Here Foerster mentions the paragraph in Nyrop which I have cited, and adds:

"Beim flüchtigen Durchblättern meiner noch nicht geordneten und nicht verarbeiteten Notizen finde ich dass noch fg. (und sicher noch manche andere Texte) die beiden *e* (lat. *ī* und *ē*) streng scheiden: Ph. Thaon, Wace, Est. Fougères, Mont S. Michel, Bénéit (nicht ganz rein) S. Gille, Atre perilleus, Greg. d. Gr. (ed. Luzarche), Andeli, ferner Poème Moral, Blondel von Nesle. Also Normandie und ein Teil der Picardie."

In *Z. r. Ph.*, XXXV, p. 477 note, he adds: "Kristian, Blondel von Nesle, ferner Paula und Eructavit u. a."¹

Altho any one of the foregoing texts may contain few or even no cases of *e* < *ī*, *ē* riming with *e* < *ē*, that fact alone is not sufficient to prove that *e* < *ī*, *ē* had not become *ɛ* in the speech of the author, at least in most of the words containing it. The number of words which can offer such rimes is comparatively very small.

A few such possible confusions are:²

net, met, with *recet*(1), set = (*septem*), -et < -ait;

mes = (*misum*), with *apres*, *ades*, or -es < -ais;

messe = (*missa*), with *confesse*;

-ece, with *espece*, *Grece*;

-ferme, with *terme*, *lerme*, *germe*;

¹ Vising (*loc. cit.*) adds three more: Marie de France, Gautier d'Arras, *Histoire de G. le Maréchal*, ed. P. Meyer.

² Suchier (Gramm., par 15e) says "Selten tritt *e* für *ɛ* ein: so vereinzelt in *recet*, receptum Rou 9934, Brut 938, sonst *recet*. Auch kennen Wace (Brut 3088), Ben. und G. Clerc eine Aussprache *prest*, praesto, gewöhnlich, *prest*." But this statement presupposes that *ɛ* had not become *ɛ* in those texts. Vising cites *recet*: met, Samson, *recet*: net, Adgar. Crestien always rimes the word as *recet*, cf. *Cl.*, 1953, *G. d'Angl.*, 2783, *Erec*, 3901.

cresme, batesme, with esme, and quaresme which seems to have been pronounced -ęsme;

el, cel, chevel, with -el = -illum etc.

ele, cele, with -ele = -ellam etc.

icest,³ with est, prest.

³ est: icest occurs in the life of St. Osith, 543, 729 (ed. Baker, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, VII, 75).

As an extreme illustration of the questionableness of Foerster's list we may take the poems of Blondel de Nesle (ed. Wiese, Dresden 1904). On page 88 the editor has assembled all the rimes in ę and ę:

For ę: -ece III 1-2 (adrece, leece, destrece, perece, blece, hautece).

For ę: -ele XVII 1. (novele, renouvele, revele, merele).

This is obviously unconvincing. In order to prove that a given author did not confuse e < ĭ, ē, with e < ě in his speech, one must first show considerable room for such confusion in his rime-words, and second show that no such confusion exists. I have examined several of the texts cited by Foerster and give my results below. I frankly do not understand what purpose he intended the list to serve. A glance at the poems of Blondel de Nesle is enough to convince us that a mere catalog of authors who distinguish the two e's in rime is almost valueless by itself, since it does not offer decisive information concerning the pronunciation of the author.

II

In the note to line 192 of *Ivain*³ (1906) Foerster said: "Im Glossar der letzten Auflage war *galesche* mit ę verzeichnet, da die in anderen Teilen Frankreichs (besonders Norden und Nordwesten) lange erhaltene Scheidung zwischen ę (lat. ě) und ę (lat. ĭ) sich bei Kristian sicher nicht nachweisen lässt." Besides *ele*, *cele*, which always rime with *-ele* < *-ella* or with each other, he cites six cases of confusion in support of his statement. A different view is expressed with a certain amount of reserve in *Erec*² (1909). "ę (lat. ě in position, z. B. běllu) und ę (lat. ĭ in Position, z. B. mĭttat) scheinen noch geschieden gewesen zu sein, vgl. Anm. zu kl. *Ivain* 192." More positively in *Cliges*³ (1910), page LXXVII: "ę (lat. ě in Position, z. B. běllu) und ę (lat. ĭ in Position, z. B. mĭttat)

waren noch geschieden, vgl. Anm. zu 849 und kl. *Ivain*,³ 192." In the note to 849 he refers the rime *fleche: peche* to the list of confusions of *e* and *ę* given in *Ivain*,³ 192 note, and adds: "Dort ist nachzutragen, was s. Z. zu bemerken vergessen ist, dass alle andern, sehr zahlreichen Fälle in Kristian *e* und *ę* scharf im Reim scheiden, so dass er den von mir Zs. 28 (1904), 508 angeführten Texten beizuzählen ist, ebenso wie die h. Paula. Dazu gehört auch Erucavit. . . ."

I think that the evidence is in favor of Foerster's earlier view. I have assembled the rimes in *e* < *ī* for all the poems save the *Percival* (which I preferred to omit since no satisfactory edition has yet appeared). They are comparatively numerous but fall into set groups. The rimes *charete: rete Lanc.* 2731 and *desherete: entremete Ivain*, 837 (both cited by Foerster himself in the note to *Ivain*, 192) point to an open *ę* in the words ending in *-ete*, and possibly in those ending in *-et*, which present the largest number of possible rimes with words in *ę*. *Cele, ele* = (*illa*) never rime with anything but *ę*; Foerster, *Z. r. Ph.*, XXXV, 477 says "natürlich" without offering an explanation. This change was anterior to the vocalization of *l + s*; cf. *çaus* = *cels*, and *biaus* = *bels*. *Chaeles* always rimes with *ę*; Visig (loc. cit.) seems to think it is by analogy to the ending *-ella*, and adds it to Suchier's list of such analogical cases in *Gramm.* par. 15b. Other confusions of *e* < *ī* with *e* < *ē* are: *fleche: peche, Cl.*, 849 (the etymology of *fleche* is, however, uncertain), *gres: angres, Ivain*, 837, *creste: apreste, Ivain*, 4219.

I think that the absense of more cases of confusion may be explained by the fact that the remaining rime-groups are small, and lack corresponding groups with *ę* in some cases. This should appear from the examples:

Guillaume d'Angleterre.

Forms and compounds of *metre* riming with each other: 1, 563, 1115, 2233, 2993. *messe: promesse*, 23. *-esce; -esce*, 1071. *-esce: adresce*, 3301. *-etes (ittas)* with itself, 2015. *-ete: nete*, 1017. *blesce: adresce*, 797. *fresche: enesche (inescat)*,⁴ 1285.

⁴Foerster, note to *Ivain*, 192, adds this rime to his list of confusions, and remarks: "Ich kenne keinen zweiten Fall, wo lat. *ē* im altfr. zu *e* wurde." Cf. *Lanc.* 877 *charrete: dete*, if < *dēbita*; also *desherete: antremete, Ivain*, 5079, and for Germanic *ē* cf. rimes with *blesce* and *gres*. Possibly *adresce* too is from *ē*.

Confusion: ele: cele (= celat), 2585.

*Erec.*²

Forms of *metre*: 463, 1629, 1661, 4261, 5649; -esce: esce, 2121, 4727, 5415, 6317 6657; -esce: adreſce, 2185; -etes: etes, 2113, 6669; -et: -et, 3125; -et: gringalet, 3967, 4087. Gomeret: vaslet, 1975; Guivret: met, 6463; messes: promesses, 6529; galesches: bretesches, 5371.

Confusion: cele: cele (-celat), 4611, 6611; ele, cele: -ele, 195, 6355; noveles: chaeles?, 1199.

*Cliges.*³

Forms of *metre*: 187, 673, 3219, 5027, 5469, 5967, 6104, 6149; -metre: letre, 1411, 3897; -esce: -esce, 153, 201, 449, 1969, 4203; -esce: adreſce, 2919, 4703; blesce: destresce, 2119; blesce: adreſce, 3419; promesse: messe, 135; cresse: batesme, 371; mesle: gresle, 1527; tresce: chevesce, 841.

Confusions: ele, cele: -ele etc., 1047, 1373, 2885, 6309, 6465; fleche: peche?, 849.

*Ivain.*⁴

Forms of *metre*: 2595, 4005, 4695, 5541; -esce: -esce, 79, 1673, 2169, 3887, 4083; destresce: blesce, 1473; chambrete: brete, 1579; mete: chambrete, 5568; Lunete: antremete, 6557; Lunete: brunete, 2415; meisonete: nete, 2837; messe: promesse, 4031; messe: felenesse, 5457; espesse: felenesse, 181; felenesse: promesse, 3739; bretesche: galesche, 191; fresches: bresches, 1355; fresche: garlandesche, 2361; mesle: gresle, 444.

Confusion: cele, ele: -ele, 1409, 2439, 2889, 3109, 4385, 5241, 945. noveles: chaeles?, 3697; creste: apreſte, 4219; desherete: antremete, 5079; gres: angres, 837.

Lancelot.

Forms of *metre*: 7, 617, 2983, 4055, 5315, 6453, 6607, 6783, 7069, 7133; forms of *metre* with *charrete*, 23, 400, 491, 631, 1679, 2803, 4367, 7125; -esce: -esce, 589, 2859, 3192, 5327, 5941, 5985, 6017; adreſce; esce, 1513, 2325; blesce: esce, 6659, 969, 1635, 3125; felenesse: espesse, 3023; bretesche: fresche, 2219; seches: teches, 5959, 6331; espes: mes, 667; charrete: dete (< dēbita?), 877.

Confusions: *ele*, *cele*: -*ele*, 639, 1070, 4701, 5215, 5382, 5787, 6261, 6397; *charrete*: *rete*, 2731.

The explanation of the large number of rimes between forms of *metre* may lie in Crestien's well-known fondness for rich rimes. This also appears in such combinations as *messe*: *promesse*, *chambrete*: *brete*, *Lunete*: *nete*, *gres*: *angres*, etc.

Vie S. Paule, ed. Grass, 1908. *Rom. Bibl.*, XIX.

This text, (together with the *Eructavit*), seems to be written in a dialect akin to that of Crestien, cf. Foerster, *Cliges*, p. LXXXI. Unfortunately it is too short to afford much material:

antremestre: *mestre*, 31; *meitre*: *maumetre*, 607; *met*: *promet*, 681; *met*: *maumet*, 852; -*ece*: -*ece*, 97, 103, 117, 339, 1183; *adrece*: *blece*, 133; *afferme*: *ferme*, 735; *afferme*: *anferme*, 891; *maistresse*: *messe*, 795; *arcevesque*: *evesque*, 1134.

areste: *blece*, 133 the editor changes to *adrece*: *blece*, which seems to be the correct reading.

Lines 625-6 present a confusion between *e* < *ĩ* and *e* < *ai*:

“Quant la consciance s'en veit
La grant affliction promet
Que por Dieu soffrons an cest mont,” etc.

The passage as it stands is rather unintelligible. The editor substitutes the rimes . . . “*est ferme*,” and . . . “*afferme*,” which actually occur a little below (l. 735-6). This makes pretty fair sense, but I find it a little arbitrary, and would suggest instead a shift in the word-order, reading:

“La grant affliction s'en veit
Quant la consciance promet
Que por Dieu soffrons an cest mont,” etc.

The Latin text corresponding to this passage reads: “*Sicura sit conscientia quod non propter peccata patiamur*” (p. 49).

But whether, with this change, the rime be admissible or not, the remaining rimes do not furnish evidence sufficient to prove that *ę* had not become *ę*.

Notice also *e* < *ĩ* + *l* + *s* > *aus*: cf. *ęaus* = *cels*, *aus* = *els*, *biauté*, but also *chevos-capillos*.

Eructavit, ed. Jenkins, Dresden, 1909.

Introduction, p. XXXV, 6. ě "The rimes indicate that the sound was still different from ę contrary to Chrestien's usage. Cf. batesme: cresse 1255, nete obliete 1433, net guichet, 185, and also, 1135, 1199, 1273, 1759, 1859. Neither seę: Israhęl, 615 nor aęę: preę, 2029, as is well known, form exceptions.

"On the other hand, agnę: danię, 970, lioncę: Danię, 961, novę: Ezechię, 1064, tęche: pęche, 1718 etc. argue that the two sounds were separate for the author. For this reason, the couplets found after 396 in IEBCDFGLM, with the rime teche: creche can hardly be admitted as belonging to the author."

Foerster has already pointed out, *Cliges*, 846, note, that teche probably has ę, and that teche: creche need not, therefore, be rejected. But this leaves a confusion of the two sounds in teche: peche.

Moreover, I cannot see how the remaining rimes may be made to *prove* anything. Except for met: promet, 1759, and chansonete: nete, 137, which present the two-consonant rime, together with three more rimes of net(e): -et(e), they are such that corresponding rimes in ę < ě would be hard to find: -ece: -ece four times, batesme: cresse, 1255, metre: letre.

For e + l + cons. see Jenkins' introduction, page XLII: "For cels, ceus, A has frequently ces, (also cex), attested Guill. de Dole 2214 ces: Jugles, while E writes seoz, seos, ceos, reminding us of Chrestien's chevos, capillos.

"For els, eus, A has regularly aus, aux, ax, and E aus, auz, eaus." Note that "only A and E can claim to have been written in territory contiguous to Champagne."

Wace.

The rimes of the *Roman de Rou et des Ducs de Normandie* have been studied by Pohl in *Roman. Forsch.*, Vol. II. The rimes in e < ĩ are given in a table on p. 544, those in e < ě on p. 546. Nothing could illustrate better than these two tables the difficulty of determining the pronunciation of e < ĩ from the rimes. The figures refer to the number of times each rime occurs:

e < ĩ: et, 3, ez, 1, ece (esce, eze), 10, esse, 1, ete, 2, etre, 1,

e < ě: el, 18, er, 1, ers, 5, ert, 11, es, 5, est, 5, ece, 1, ele(s), 19, erre, 42, erte, 2, esse, 4, este (nt), 3, estre, 11.

Thus the only possible rimes between $e < \text{ǣ}$ and $e < \text{ě}$, if we have only those given above to choose from, are *esse* and *ece*.

abesse : contesse, 4529.

Lutece : Grece, 29.

The former might have rimed with *pr̥esse*, *angr̥esse*, etc. The latter might have been rimed with *-ece*, (and is it so certain that the *e* of *Lutece* and *Grece* is an open one?). But it was natural enough for Wace to rime the two place names just as he did in *Brut*, 11370, *Gresse: Boesse*, where a rime with *pr̥esse*, etc. would have been quite admissible.

Pohl remarks, p. 547, "Es ist kaum möglich, einem Zufalle zuschreiben zu wollen, dass wir hier unter ę kein Wort mit ę aus ǣ antreffen, dass wir z. B. kein *chevel* (*capillum*) etc. verfinden." This is hardly fair. That Wace was not in the habit of putting the words *el* and *cel* at the end of a line appears from the fact that they don't occur there. The absence of the single word *chevel* in rime with *-el* may be mere accident, and in any case this one word (not that it has to be in the singular for rime) proves nothing. I am unable to find any others that would do.

As a rime for ęrt , Pohl suggests "cf. z. B. *vert* (*virid*).". The expression "zum Beispiel" is misleading, for there is no other word in *-ert*. Page 548, "Auch für diese Reimart (i. e. ęst) hätte es nicht an einem Worte mit $\text{ę} < \text{ǣ}$ gefehlt; cf. z. B. latein. *iste* (*est*, *cest*) etc." But he has just shown that *geneste* usually rimes with ę , and Vising has done the same for *arbaleste*, *m̥*-over neither *est* nor *cest* is likely to occur much in rime. Consequently one is at a loss to expand his rather optimistic "etc." Page 549, for rimes in *-ęle* he suggests "*illa* (*ele*, *cele*) etc." Here again one wonders what other words are alluded to by the "etc."

The cases of confusion in the *Brut* Pohl inclines to attribute to mistakes of copyists, or even of the editor. He adds however (p. 551): "Lassen wir jedoch zur Erklärung der im *Brut* vorkommenden Bindungen von ę : ę eine zweite Annahme nicht ausser Acht, die ebenfalls grosse Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich hat. Der *Brut* ist ohne Zweifel später, jünger, als der *Rou*, und es ist durchaus nicht ausgeschlossen, dass in ihm wirklich schon ein Anfang der Vermischung von *e* and ę vorliegt, dass wir also in obigen Bindungen (sofern sie natürlich ächt sind) Zusammenreimen von ę : ę anzuneh-

men haben." Pohl himself is clearly of two minds concerning the existence of confusions in the *Brut*, and it is safe to say that nothing can be definitely proved one way or the other until a reliable text has been established and the rimes carefully studied.

CONCLUSION.

Three things must, then, be borne in mind in determining whether a given author confused $e < \text{ĩ}$ with $e < \text{ě}$ in his speech:

1. The lack of confusion in rime may be due to the fact that possible rimes between the two word-groups are not numerous, to the author's fondness for riming certain pairs of words together for the sake of rich rime or for other reasons, or to mere chance. In any case, no conclusion can be reached without considerable material.

2. If undeniable cases of confusion occur in two or three words of different consonant-endings, some valid reason must be given for supposing that e has not become e in the other word-groups.

3. It is arbitrary to posit such pronunciations as *recet*, *prest*, (Suchier, *Gramm.*, par. 15c.), until all the rimes have been carefully examined, and until there is good evidence that e has not become e in other words.¹

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REVIEWS

La Poésie Française Du Moyen-Age, XI^e au XV^e Siècles—Recueil de Textes, Accompagné de Traductions, de Notices et précédé d'une Étude littéraire, par Charles Oulmont, Docteur ès lettres. (Paris, Mercure de France, 1913. 378 pages.)

Le succès des volumes de Van Bever et Léautaud, *Poètes d'aujourd'hui* (Mercure de France, Paris, 20 édition, 1910) a suggéré à M. Van Bever l'idée d'une anthologie de la littérature française de tous les siècles, sous ce titre: "Anthologie de la poésie française des Origines jusqu'à nos jours." Le premier volume—chronologiquement—vient de paraître. Il a été préparé par M. Oulmont. M. Van Bever annonce lui-même le volume *Poètes des XV^e et XVI^e siècles*.

Nous dirons franchement que *l'Avant-Propos* général de M. Van Bever ne nous paraît pas heureux. Ayant rendu de si réels services quand il s'était contenté de nous fournir des matériaux intelligents et exacts pour les poètes dont il nous offrait les extraits, pourquoi a-t-il voulu passer au rang de directeur de conscience littéraire pour ceux qui se servent de ses livres? En elle-même cette façon de procéder constitue un anachronisme. Et surtout l'assurance avec laquelle s'exprime M. Van Bever n'est pas de notre âge: "Si nous acceptons au début de ces pages l'étiquette d'anthologie, c'est un peu pour la réhabiliter" (p. 3). Voilà qui n'est déjà pas trop modeste; voici qui est mieux: "Ce sera une des hardiesses de ce livre que de réformer des opinions toutes faites, sorte de fausse monnaie qui, en l'absence de tout contrôle sérieux, eut cours pendant des siècles. . . . Quelques grandes figures mises hors de cause, il semble qu'on pourrait récrire l'histoire littéraire, en modifiant les noms qui la composent" (p. 4). Et naturellement l'auteur entend nous proposer de récrire l'histoire littéraire en nous suggérant, lui, les noms pour cela: "Dans le présent volume, la poésie reprend son cours naturel trop longtemps arrêté par les pédants" (p. 5). Avec tout cela M. Van Bever proteste de sa modestie; et, en un sens elle est là. Voici une phrase trahissant un bien bizarre mélange de confiance en soi et d'effacement: "Nous avons tout vu, tout lu, tout interrogé avec cette passion persuasive qu'inspire la connaissance des choses belles et mystérieuses, faisant la part des sentiments d'une époque et du goût actuel, accommodant sans relâche notre zèle, nos idées et notre modeste rôle d'informateur" (p. 8).

Venons au volume de M. Oulmont.

Oulmont est l'auteur d'une thèse qui a été un peu malmenée par le jury de la Sorbonne, mais intéressante en ce qu'elle s'efforçait de renverser la croyance traditionnelle en Pierre Gringore¹ comme en une sorte de poète famélique et miséreux parceque trop épris d'idéal, et de mettre à la place une figure de poète bourgeois de goûts et d'esprit. La "tradition," à vrai dire, n'était pas si ancienne; remonte-t-elle plus haut que V. Hugo et Banville? . . . L'originalité, de fait, est plutôt négative; il n'y a guère assez de matériaux pour reconstruire un portrait en pied—et par conséquent il faut laisser à peu près carte blanche aux poètes (comme

¹ *Pierre Gringore*, Paris, Champion, 1911.—Couronné par l'Académie française.

pour Cyrano de Bergerac). Si nous rappelons cela, c'est que cette même tendance, iconoclaste vaguement, se manifeste dans cette anthologie. Et d'abord M. Oulmont perd du temps à démontrer l'évident. S'il faut une nouvelle anthologie, c'est que les anciennes ne sont pas bonnes. Inutile de nous expliquer longuement qu'on ne supprimera pas les belles pages (Chanson de Roland, p. ex.) d'une part, et qu'on n'essayera pas, d'autre part, de faire admirer un poème "d'autant plus qu'il est moins célèbre,"—qu'on veut enfin "le juste milieu." Sans doute, sans doute. . . . "Ni admiration, ni dédain excessifs, mais un examen attentif des oeuvres." Sans doute; mais cela va de soi! En somme, M. Oulmont veut élargir la conception traditionnelle du chef-d'oeuvre médiéval. Et ce n'est pas mauvais. Mais osons dire que sa nouvelle conception repose sur de parfaits lieux communs; son Introduction compte 40 pages. Il faut justifier notre accusation.

Page 15, on lit: "D'assez bonne heure, le Roman d'aventure remplace la Chanson de geste, à laquelle il emprunte quelques-uns de ses mérites, et y ajoute de la psychologie, et une peinture parfois subtile et précieuse des mœurs mondaines; en sorte qu'il nous est loisible de regretter moins le *Roland* et *Les Lorrains*, à cause des poèmes de Chrétien de Troyes et du roman de *Parthenopeus de Blois*. . . ." N'avait-on dit vraiment cela nulle part? Plus bas (p. 15); "... délayage insipide . . . les conteurs de romans s'embarrassent dans des échelons d'aventures, dont ils ne sortent que pour notre ennui. . . ." Peut-on nous demander de pardonner de tels truismes? Et ceci: "Et malgré tout ce que l'on peut reprocher au *Roman de la Rose*, par exemple, l'on ne doit pas nier que c'est de tous les poèmes allégorique le plus important, moins par son extraordinaire étendue que par sa date et ses résultats" (p. 18). Est-ce là renouveler?! Alors, merci. Ou cette phrase d'une si curieuse inconscience: "C'est la satire aussi, plutôt que les intrigues polissonnes et les détails répugnants qui donnent du prix à la littérature des fableaux" (p. 31). Enfin, il y a des théories si sujettes à caution! ainsi "Lancelot . . . est possédé d'un amour coupable, défendu. Seul cet amour intéresse le lecteur ou l'auditeur, et charme les femmes . . ." (p. 24). Mais non; M. Oulmont lui-même cite *Aucassin et Nicolette*, *Floire et Blancheflor*, *Parthenopeus de Blois*. Et Aude, et Guiborc, et "la bele Doette," et tant d'autres! On pourrait tout aussi bien soutenir la thèse contraire en s'appuyant sur les textes, que plus un amour était pur et doux, plus il émouvait.

Cette Introduction est une tache au livre. C'est ce qu'on nomme en France, avec raison, du travail *bâclé*. Et c'est dommage. La collection est vraiment utile. D'abord, elle est compacte, et chaque professeur a plus de chance de rencontrer ce qu'il lui faut que dans les petites anthologies courantes; en même temps, le livre n'est pas hors de prix. L'ordre adopté est l'ordre chronologique, vaguement—forcément vaguement puisque la date de la plupart des textes est incertaine. Quant au principe qui a présidé au choix des morceaux, je n'en découvre point de précis; mais ici encore j'y verrais plutôt un avantage, pour la même raison que celle donnée tout à l'heure, à savoir que chaque professeur pourra faire son choix sans être inconsciemment influencé par le livre.

En général, l'élément érudition est consciencieux. On pourra, en s'y reportant, se mettre facilement au courant des problèmes soulevés par les différentes oeuvres citées.

Voici par exemple les indications pour la Sainte Eulalie:

Sources.—Manuscrs.—Bibl. de Valenciennes, 143; fac-similés Album de la Soc. des Anc. Textes Français, 1875, pl. 2.—Monaci: Fac-simili di antichi manoscritti (Roma, 1891, pl. 86).—Suchier: Geschichte der Französ. Litteratur (Leipzig, 1898).

Editions.—Eltoniensia: Monumens des langues romane et teutonique du IX^e siècle p.p. Hoffmann de Fallersleben, avec introduction et notes par J.-F. Willems (Gand, 1837; 2. édit., 1845).—Diez: Altrom. Sprachdenkmäler (Bonn, 1846, p. 15).—P. Meyer: Recueil d'anciens textes (Paris, 1877, p. 193).—Koschwitz: Les plus anciens monuments de la langue française (Leipzig, 1879-1902, p. 8).—Monaci: I più Antichi Monumenti della lingua francese (Roma, 1894, p. 5).—Roget: An Introduction to Old French (London, 1894, p. 19).—Förster u. Koschwitz: Altfranz. Uebungsbuch, 1902, p. 47).—L. Constans (Paris, 1884 et 1906, p. 2).—Bartsch et Horning: La Langue et la littérature française (Paris, 1887 et 1909, p. 3).

Il y a beaucoup. Cependant, si l'on met tant, il semblerait que l'étude de Littré (*Histoire de la langue française*, 1862) où l'on trouve une des plus originales suggestions sur le rythme de Ste Eulalie devrait figurer aussi. Il y a d'autres réserves à faire. La Cantilène de Ste Eulalie, nous dit-on, est le plus ancien monument de la langue française; il serait plus exact de dire "le plus ancien monument littéraire"—car enfin, il y a les *Serments de Strasbourg*.

P. 49: Puisque l'auteur en dit tant sur le *Saint-Alexis*, pourquoi ne pas dire aussi que c'est une légende orientale. Il mentionne ces sortes de choses ailleurs. Et ici, en ajoutant seulement une phrase, on expliquerait tant de petits points.

P. 65: Comme travaux scientifiques sur la *Chanson de Roland*, pourquoi ne pas citer—ce qui serait très précieux ici justement—la très fidèle bibliographie de Seelman (Heilbronn, 1888) et celle de Geddes dans son édition (chez Mc-Millan, 1906).

P. 81: A propos de Guillaume d'Orange, comment se fait-il que les travaux de Weeks sur *Le covenant Vivien*, et le groupe de Chansons dont il est question dans ce paragraphe, soient absolument ignorés?

P. 188: A propos d'Aymery de Narbonne, puisque M. Oulmont cite très à propos V. Hugo; alors pourquoi ne pas mentionner, à côté du travail de Gaston Paris dans la *Romania*, ceux de Glachant (*Revue Univ.*, 1899), de Rigal (*Rev. d'Hist. Litt.*, 1900), de Vianey (*Rev. des Langues Rom.*, 1901)?

P. 215: La littérature sur les Fabliaux est un peu sommaire.

P. 353: Pourquoi ne pas citer la collection publiée sous la direction de M. Roques, des "Classiques français du Moyen âge?"

On voit qu'il y a des défauts, même dans la façon d'éditer. Cependant on voit aussi par la nature de ceux que nous avons indiqués, que ce sont surtout des péchés véniels et faciles à corriger dans une seconde édition. Cette collection rendra sûrement de sérieux services à nombre de professeurs, et même de simples savants qui ne sont pas à portée d'une grande bibliothèque.

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Folk-Ballads of Southern Europe, translated into English verse, by SOPHIE JEWETT. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1913. v + 299 pp. in 8°.

These fifty translations were made for the benefit of Miss Jewett's classes in English ballads in Wellesley College. The difficulties of rendering into English poems from Rumanian, Sicilian, Catalan, Piedmontese, Gascon, Castilian, Portuguese, Venetian, Neapolitan, Corsican, and Modern Greek might have daunted a linguist. Miss Jewett, however, was a poet.¹ Her original verse

gives evidence of the rare ability which she brought to her task of translation. Long study of the English and Scottish ballads had, moreover, perfected a native sensitiveness to the rhythms and diction of popular poetry. Even a linguist, if such a one exist, competent to pronounce on the accuracy of all her renderings, would probably be slow to suggest changes, grateful for the faithfulness with which she preserves the charm of the originals, and realizing that translations of this sort, which do not aim to be absolutely literal, depend to a great extent on individual taste.²

Miss Jewett translates the close of the ballad *La Marquise* (p. 150) '*Dieu lui ferme son paradis; Je n'ai ni roi ni femme*,' "'God shuts her out of Paradise,

¹ Miss Jewett's translations and original poems are the following: (Ellen Burroughs) *The Pilgrim and Other Poems*, N. Y., Macmillan, 1896; Poems in *Persephone and other Poems*, by members of the English Literature Department of Wellesley College, Boston, Fort Hill press, 1905; *The Pearl*, a Middle English poem in the meter of the original, N. Y., Crowell, 1908; *The Heart of a Boy* (*Cuore*), *the Journal of an Italian Schoolboy*, by Edmondo de Amicis, translated from the Italian and abridged, Chicago, Rand McNally, 1909; *God's Troubadour*, the story of St. Francis, N. Y., Crowell, 1910; *Poems*, Memorial Edition, N. Y., Crowell, 1910.

² I owe to the kindness of Dr. Gustav Grünbaum, of the Johns Hopkins University, the following notes on the Rumanian ballads. In *The Sun and the Moon*: the lines (p. 22) *Ce-i-frumósă ca o flóre într' o ărnă fără sôre*, 'who is as beautiful as a flower In a sunless winter,' are omitted in the translation; there are the following omissions on p. 24: *Cată ți tu de ceriul teu Și eă de pămîntul meă C'asa vrut-a Dumnegeă*, 'Attend to the (thy) sky, Let me attend to the (my) earth, For so has willed the Lord'; *Lumile deștepta Și cu drag îl asculta*, 'The worlds awoke, And listened to him gladly'; in the text of the last line on the page, *gîndul* is misspelled. The literal rendering is, 'What does thy mind say?'; on p. 26, *Sfîntii făcă 'și ascundea Preoți în genuchî cădea*, 'The saints covered their faces, The priests fell on their knees,' is expanded by Miss Jewett to 'The bells crack, and crashing fall Rail and rood and choir-stall; On its base the clock-tower sways; Dumb the priest stands where he prays, And his vestments fall from him'; the text on pages 27 is also expanded in the translation.

In *Bujor*: on page 155, at the end of the third stanza 'three' corresponds to 'o' 'one' in the text; page 157, 'pool' translates 'well'; 'betrayed' renders the Rumanian for 'to make mad with love'; 'tavern' should be 'hut'; 'inn- maiden' should be 'little widow.' 'He takes one kiss and no more,' hardly translates the Rumanian text, which, rendered literally, is 'They were not through kissing'; on page 159: 'Many Christians dost thou slay' should be in the past tense.

In *Shalga*: on page 171, *vădaneș*, 'of the widow,' and the following four lines are omitted in the translation; on page 173 'thousand' should be 'hundred'; the lines 'And down in the Danube river Waters boil and fishes leap' are not found in the text; *socră-să* means 'her mother-in-law,' not 'her grandmother'; on page 175, 'my maids' corresponds to nothing in the Rumanian text.

In *The Little Lamb*: on page 263, 'bold' and 'boldly' correspond to nothing in the text; the fourth line on page 265 might, perhaps, better be translated 'Shedding blood-tears (*lacrimi de sânge*!) on the ground'; on page 267, 'bearded chin' hardly translates *mustețlora*, 'little mustache.'

I've nor king nor wife,' he cried." *Ferme* should be translated by the subjunctive. *Sont les gâs de Guérande Qui viv' en bons garçons* is translated: "It is the lads of Guérande, Their jolly life is done." *Viv'* is, however, in the present tense. *Pierre of Grenoble* is translated rather freely at one or two points, apparently out of considerations of rhythm. Anglo-Saxon taste leads the translator to omit the lines of *The Noble Sibilla*, in which the mother, yearning for her child, is roughly answered by the pirate.

—Si tu hai ssu pettu chinu
Sguittacillu tu a ssi cani.—
—Lu mè latti è biancu bianchissimu
Tu si' veru cori di cani.— (ll. 46 ff.)

Few would prefer a more literal translation, however, than that which renders *L'amour la teng, l'amour qui non la teng, Boudrio la teni*, with "Love holds her close; The love that may not hold her Longs to enfold her."

It is surprising to find a Breton ballad included in a collection from Southern Europe, and it is a question whether the versions of Vasile Alecsandri can properly be called *folk-ballads*. The Greek *Voice from Underground* is also decidedly literary in treatment. Few, however, would be willing to secure homogeneity in the collection at the price of sacrificing Miss Jewett's renderings of these poems. We should be sorry to lose the shepherd's prophecy of his death in *The Little Lamb*:

Say I wed a royal bride,
Wooded of all the world beside;
Say that when our faith was given,
A bright star fell out of heaven;
Sun and moon stood holding there
A marriage wreath above my hair;
Mountains tall were priests to me;
Guests were pine and alder-tree;
Torches were the flaming stars,
Thousand birds my lute-players. (p. 265)

and the reproach of the *Voice from Underground*, addressing the reveller who treads upon his grave:

Perhaps I was not young, I too! Was I not brave?
Have I not walked, I too, by night under the moon? (p. 259)

Although this group of ballads is distinctly modern in tone, their popular origin is still evident. The Rumanian *The Sun and the Moon* preserves a hint at least of the tradition, which we find in sources as remote as American Indian tales, of the longing of the sun for a bride that can bear his brightness.³ The *Voice from Underground* has the same pathos, and is perhaps a waif of the same tradition of which Virgil's Polydorus,⁴ Dante's Pier delle Vigne,⁵ and Spenser's Fradubio⁶ are prouder heirs.

³ Dorsey and Kroeber, *Arapaho Traditions*, Field Columbian Museum, Anthropological Series V, p. 321, No. 134 ff.

⁴ *Aeneid*, III, 39 ff.

⁵ *Inferno*, XIII, 25 ff.

⁶ *Faery Queen*, Bk. I, Canto 2.

The great majority of the ballads in the collection are analogues to English and Scottish ones published by Child. These relationships are indicated in the notes, and in a few cases Romance variants are given. The ballads are arranged in groups illustrating themes universal in European folk-lore: Ballads of Love, Ballads of Murder, Ballads of Prisoners, Biblical and Apocryphal Ballads, Ballads of the Supernatural. It is inevitable, no doubt, in a collection made under the circumstances of the present one, that the distinctly Romance characteristics of the ballads should tend to be overshadowed by their Anglo-Saxon associations and their affinities with general European tradition. In some cases this is unfortunate. We mention an example.

Miss Jewett translates a ballad known in France as *La Pernette*, from a Piedmontese version appearing in Nigra's Collection under the title *Fior di Tomba*. The version contains, as the title indicates, the widely spread tradition of miraculous flowers springing from two lovers' graves. It has lost, however, most of the characteristic features of its fifteenth century French original, of which Doncieux, in *Le Romancero populaire de la France* reconstructs a critical text. Doncieux calls it a *chanson de toile . . . repensée par un poète paysan*.⁷

La Pernette (critical text, dialect of Forez, ed. G. Doncieux, *Le Romancero populaire de la France*, pp. 17-19).

La Pernette se lieve
la tra, la la, . . . latrala,
La Pernette se lieve treis ores davant jor,
Treis ores davant jor (bis).
El prent sa colognete avoi son petit tor.
A chascun tor qu'el vire, fait un sospir d'amor.
Sa mare li vient dire: "Pernette, qu'avés vos?"
"Av'os lo mau de teste, o bien lo mau d'amor?"
"N'ai pas lo mau de teste, mais bien lo mau d'amor."
— "No ploras pas, Pernette, nos vos maridarons,
Vos donaron un prince o lo fi d'un baron,
"Jo no vuolh pas un prince ne lo fi d'un baron,
Jo vuolh mon ami Piere, qu'est dedens la prison."
"Tu n'auras mie Piere, nos lo pendolaron!"
— Se vos pendolas Piere, pendolas-mei itot.
Au chemin de Saint-Jaque enteras-nos tos dos.
Cuvrés Piere de roses e mei de milefleurs;
Los pelerins que passent en prendront quauque brot,
Diront: Dio aye l'ame dous povres amors!
L'un per l'amor de l'autre il sont morts tos los dos.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, Paris, 1904, pp. 34, 35. From a study of seventy versions current in Romance countries, Doncieux has traced the ballad to an original composed in the north of Forez (p. 16) some time between the invention of the spinning wheel (c. 1393), mentioned in the second and third lines, and the oldest recorded version of the ballad (15th century). From a study of the assonances in the versions collected, Doncieux reconstructs the original from which they are derived. The three versions are printed below.

Fior di tomba (Piedmontese text,
C. Nigra, *Canti popolari del
Piemonte*, Torino, 1888, p. 129).

Flowers from the grave. (Translation
of Piedmontese text, made by Miss
Jewett, pp. 83-85.)

Di là da cui boscage
Na bela fia a j'è;
So pare e sua mare
La völo maridè.
A völo dè-i-la ün prinsi
Fiöl d'imperadur.
—Mi vöi nè re nè prinsi
Fiöl d'imperadur;
"Déi-me cul giuvinoto
Ch'a j'è 'n cula pèrzun."
—O fia dla mia fia,
L'è pà 'n partì da ti:
"Duman a úndes ure
A lo faran mürì."
—S'a fan mürì cul giuvo,
Ch'a m'fasso mürì mi;
Ch'a m'fasso fè na tumba
Ch'a i sia d' post pèr tri,
Ch'a i stago pare e mare,
'L me amur an brass a mi.
An sima a cula tumba
Piantran dle röße e fiur;
Tüta la gent ch'a i passa
A sentiran l'odur;
Diran:—j'è mort la bela,
L'è morta pèr l'amur!—

There lives a pretty maiden,
Down there beyond the wood;
Her father and her mother
They would make her a marriage good.
They would marry her to a noble prince,
An emperor's son and heir.
"I do not want a king nor prince,
Nor emperor's son and heir;
But give to me the gallant youth
Who is in the prison there."
"O daughter, O my daughter!
You cannot be his wife;
Tomorrow at eleven o'clock
They will surely take his life."
"Oh, if they murder that young man,
Then let them murder me!
Then let them make a grave for us,
A grave with places three,
One place for father and one for mother
And but one for my love and me.
And at the grave's head let them plant
A blossoming rose tree.
All the people who pass by,
The roses they will smell;
They will say: 'She died, the beauty,
Because she loved too well.'"

The French version, in which Pernette bends dispirited over her distaff in the early morning, in spite of her mother's promise of a high born husband, and finally declares that she will have no one but her own *ami Pierre*, is much more vivid than the Piedmontese variant, where an unnamed maiden in a wood demands an unnamed gallant. The mother's threat to hang Pierre in order to punish her daughter's obstinacy is more dramatic than the news that the prisoner is to be hanged. Pierre and Pernette, buried on the pilgrim's road to St. Jaques, Pierre covered with roses and Pernette with guelder-roses are distinctly more pathetic than the family grave of the Italian variant.

It is regrettable in this and in other instances that Miss Jewett was unacquainted with the excellent work of Doncieux, whose gift was in many ways similar to her own, and whom an early death cut off in the midst of a similar task. His book appeared in 1904, with an introduction by his friend, M. Julien Tiersot. Miss Jewett's book was prepared for the press after her death by her friend and colleague, Miss Katherine Lee Bates. The following ballads of Miss Jewett's collection have been studied by the French scholar, in each case the restitution of the text being accompanied by a linguistic, metrical, and literary historical study: *Flowers from the Grave* 82, cf. *La Pernette* 13; *Count Arnaud*

86, cf. *Le roi Renaud* 84; *Pierre of Grenoble* 72, cf. *Pierre de Grenoble et s'amie* 325; *Donna Lombarda* 112, cf. *Dame Lombarde* 174; *Saint Mary Magdelene and The Samaritan Woman* 192-204, cf. *La Pénitence de Marie-Madeleine* and *Les Atours de Marie-Madeleine* 144-174; *Cribette and The Moor Saracen* 46-54, cf. *L'Escrivette* 125; *The Three students of Toulouse* 164, cf. *Les Écoliers pendus* 207; *Hero and Leander* 68, cf. *Le Flambeau d'amour* 280; *The Marquise* 148, cf. *La Marquise empoisonnée* 295; *Bridal Dance and Funeral* 80, cf. *Les Tristes Noces* 338; *Fair Jeanneton* 132, cf. *Renaud le Tueur de femmes* 351; *The Corsair* 44, cf. *L'embarquement de la fille aux chansons et sa déplorable mort* 445.

Miss Jewett's book will be gratefully received by all who are desirous of making the literature of Romance countries better known and loved among readers of English poetry.

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La Bataille Loquifer I. Edition critique d'après les MSS. de l'Arsenal et de Boulogne. Par J. RONEBERG. Helsingfors, Imprimerie de la Société de Littérature Finnoise. 1913. Pp. II + 76.

Le présent travail fait suite à l'admirable thèse, *Etudes sur la Geste Raignouart* par le même auteur.¹ M. Runeberg avait déjà raconté les événements de la *Bataille Loquifer* à la p. 35 ss. de sa thèse. J'ai pu comparer avec le texte qu'offre M. Runeberg deux passages que j'avais copiés autrefois. Je n'y ai relevé aucune variante, ce qui me fait d'autant plus de plaisir que les autres textes que j'examine depuis bon nombre d'années laissent beaucoup à désirer.²

On trouve dans les 3890 vers de la *Bataille Loquifer* la justification des avis qu'a exprimés M. Runeberg au sujet de ce poème dans sa thèse, et on y relève un certain nombre de faits nouveaux de nature à intéresser ceux qui étudient le moyen âge. Les spécialistes dans le cycle de Guillaume remarqueront ces deux vers (77, 78), où Renoart dit de son tinel:

En Alischans en remest .i. tronchon,
Et li autres est en Orenge el doignon.

Ces vers contredisent les vers 93-6 du *Moniage Guillaume*, qui disent que le tinel de Renoart se voit dans l'église de Saint-Julien, à Brioude.³ La *Bataille Loquifer* n'indique aucun lien entre son héros et Saint-Julien de Brioude. Par contre, comme le remarque M. Runeberg, Saint-Julien et Brioude sont mentionnées souvent dans le *Moniage Renoart*. Au v. 2004 de la *Bataille Loquifer*, Renoart jure par Saint-Privé.⁴ On constate facilement que l'auteur de notre chanson connaissait *Aliscans*, la *Chevalerie Vivien*, et *Foucon de Candie*. Pour un renvoi à ce dernier poème, voir les vers 674, 675. Le vers 1370 est intéressant. Le ms. de Boulogne porte *Toie ert la terre dusc as obes Artu* (l. bornes

¹ Voir *Romania*, XXXVII, pp. 165, 166.

² Il existe dans ce pays, à la bibliothèque de l'université de l'Illinois, un fac-simile blanc sur noir de tout le ms. cyclique de Boulogne.

³ Cf. J. Bédier, *Légendes épiques*, I, p. 357 ss.

⁴ D'après le v. 3565 de *Foucon de Candie* (édition de O. Schultz-Gora) il existait à Orange une église Saint-Privé. Au vers 3473 de la *Bat. Loq.*, Renoart jure par Saint-Herbert.

Artu).⁵ L'erreur du mot *obes* est à comparer avec celle de *bones Artu* du vers 111 de la seconde rédaction du *Moniage Guillaume*. *Artu* (c'est-à-dire, *Hercule*) est mentionnée aussi au vers 2239: *C. liues lonc outre les pors Artu*, que l'auteur (voir *Registre des Noms Propres*) définit ainsi: "le détroit de Gibraltar." J'y verrais plutôt une expression vague pour indiquer un pays fort éloigné, comme dans un certain nombre de passages pareils.—Le nom intéressant de *Buraigne* se trouve au vers 1842 du ms. de Boulogne (*En B. en la chartre mossue*). L'éditeur agit sagement de ne pas adopter ici l'identification suggérée par M. H. Suchier (les *Narbonnais*, I, p. LXXIX, note 2; cf. M. J. Bédier, *Légendes épiques*, I, p. 391 sous *Léznigan*). En effet, *Léznigan* serait impossible ici, où *Buraigne* est un nom géographique quelconque, sans aucune signification spéciale. Un emploi plus précis du nom se voit dans les *Nerbonesi*, Vol. II, p. 140, 2, où *Boriana* est nommée parmi les régions qui se soumettent à Vivien. L'éditeur a bien fait d'adopter la leçon de ms. de l'Arsenal: *Devens Baudaire en le cartre mousue*. *Baudaire* doit être une forme fantaisiste, suggérée par *Baudart*; *Baudaire* se trouve à la rime dans une variante du *Roland*, v. 2119. Pour la tour de *Baudart*, voir *Foucon*, édition de Schultz-Gora, au v. 5254 et au v. 2654 et aux variantes, et cf. peut-être les vv. 4541, 4542.—Au v. 2585, on vient de faire *Guiborc* prisonnière: *Ja l'eüst morte, ne fust Esclariaus*. M. Runeberg suggère, dans le *Registre des Noms Propres*, que ce personnage est peut-être le même que *Clarion*, qui paraît dans plusieurs chansons. Cf. *Additions et Corrections*, sous la p. 147, et n. 147 de sa thèse, où il discute *Clarion*. Je crois que *Esclariaus* est censé être le même que l'*Esclariax* du vers 5844 d' *Aliscans*: celui qui sauve *Guiborc* serait donc son frère.—*Mont Agw* (v. 2251), se trouvant dans une laisse que mentionne *les pors Artu* (c'est-à-dire, à mon avis, *bornes Artu* ou *Hercule*), *Alexandre* et son épée *Recuite*, a peut-être remplacé *Mont Artu* (*Hercule*): voir *Anniversary Papers by Colleagues and Pupils of G. L. Kittredge*, Boston, 1913, pp. 173, 174, et ajouter *Fierabras*, v. 583, et *Moniage Renoart*, ms. de Milan, fol. 175 r°: *Vos avrez Montagw, La fille au roi d'outre bones Artu*, où *Montagw* n'est pas un nom de personne. Il y a dans le poème d'autres noms propres qui sont comme un souvenir vague se rattachant au pays où, d'après la légende, *Hercule* aurait établi les colonnes d'orient. Je mentionne par exemple *Vaus Tenebrès* (au v. 987): cf. *Val Tenebror*, là où est l'arbre qui fent, *Maugis d'Aigremont*, 1103, *Roman d'Alisandre*, 321, 18, etc.

Le livre de M. Runeberg accroît agréablement notre connaissance du cycle. Nous le remercions du soin, de l'exactitude et de la science qu'il a mis à cette continuation de ses belles études sur *Renoart*.

R. W.

⁵ Cf. *Etudes sur la Geste Rainouart*, p. 97, note 1, et *Mélanges offerts à M. Emile Picot*, I, pp. 209-13.

NOTES AND NEWS

Dr. Frederick Bliss Luquiens has been made professor of Spanish at the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University.

The third session of summer courses for foreigners has been announced at the University of Madrid. For details, address the Secretary, Plaza de Bilbao, 6, Madrid.

Professor Bert E. Young, of Vanderbilt University, has been named Officier de l'Instruction Publique.

Mr. Rudolph Altrocchi, of Harvard University, expects to publish *Two Old Italian Versions of the Legend of Saint Alexius*, also a miracle play: *Jeu de Saint-Nicolas*, in dialectal Old French.

Dr. Louis Klipffel, late of the Lycée at Tourcoing, France, has arrived in Hanover to fill the position created by the "Edward Tuck Foundation for the Instruction in the Language and Literature of the French People." This foundation was established by Mr. Tuck, who is a graduate of Dartmouth, to promote interest in French among the student body.

Paul Meyer has revised and published a fifth edition of Gaston Paris' *Littérature française au Moyen Age*, Hachette, 1914.

Ramón Menéndez Pidal has published an edition of the *Poema de Mio Cid*, in the series of Clásicos Castellanos, Madrid, Ediciones de "La Lectura," 1913.

Modern Philology announces that, commencing with the new volume, May, 1914, it will segregate its articles on the following basis: the issues of May, October, and January will be devoted to articles in the field of English; those of June, November, and February, to articles in the field of German; those of July, December, and March, to articles in the field of Romance languages. The April issue will be devoted to comparative literature, critical theory and general linguistics. There will thus be ten numbers per year, instead of four. The ROMANIC REVIEW will watch the experiment with sympathetic interest.

The Librairie Fontemoing, 4, rue Le Goff, Paris, announces the founding of the *Revue des Livres Anciens*, under the editorial care of Pierre Louÿs and Louis Loviot. Subscription price for foreign countries, 20 francs.

The first international congress in the interest of Experimental Phonetics was held at Hamburg, from the 19th to the 22d of April, 1914. For details, address Dr. Panconcelli-Calzia, Mansteinstr. 36¹¹, Hamburg.

Professor E. W. Olmsted, of Cornell, has resigned his position in order to accept the chiefship in Romance languages at the University of Minnesota.

OBITUARY

ALCEE FORTIER

(1856-1914)

French letters in America sustained a memorable loss in the death of Alcée Fortier on the 14th of February, 1914. Professor Fortier was so universally known to those interested in French literature and civilization in the United States that it would be superfluous in us to give a detailed account of his life. It may be set down here, however, that he was born in the Parish St. Jacques, in Louisiana, the 5th of June, 1856. He descended from honorable and distinguished families on both sides. His father's family had originally come from Brittany and arrived in Louisiana in 1720. The family almost immediately took a prominent position in Colonial affairs. Colonel Michel Fortier is still remembered as one of the officers of the South who contended against the English in the Revolution.

Alcée Fortier studied the humanities at the University of Virginia, and later studied law at New Orleans, but did not follow this profession. After having served as professor of French in the Boys' High School of New Orleans he became principal of the preparatory department of the University of Louisiana, which later became Tulane University, and, in 1884, professor of French at Tulane. In 1894 his title was changed to that of professor of Romance languages. Only a year ago Professor Fortier was appointed Dean of the Graduate School of Tulane University. He was the editor and author of a large number of texts and books, and a revised edition of his *History of French Literature* appeared only a few weeks before his untimely death. He was recognized as an authority on the early history of Louisiana and his interest in early Colonial records and in southern folk lore, as well as in French literature of Louisiana, gave him a unique position which is not likely soon to be occupied among students of French in this country.

THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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WHY DOES CHRETIEN'S EREC TREAT ENIDE SO HARSHLY?

THE question which I try to answer in the following pages is of fundamental importance for the understanding of Chrétien's poem, and it has been answered very differently by different scholars. Instead of asking the question in this form one might put it differently and ask of what fault Enide has, in Chrétien's mind, been guilty which can justify or at least excuse Erec's conduct. This second way of stating the question merely looks at the difficulty from another point of view, the essential thing remaining the same. For if Enide has been guilty of no fault which can excuse her husband's behavior, then Chrétien's account makes Erec guilty of a really unprovoked and unreasonably harsh, not to say cruel, treatment of Enide, and such cannot have been the poet's intention.

Since Chrétien does not plainly tell us why he makes Erec act as he does after Enide has told him what people are saying of him, any attempt to find out what was in the poet's mind must be more or less conjectural, and only a certain degree of probability can be attained. But it would seem that we may safely assume that the right solution of the problem must be in harmony with what he tells us in his narrative and with the words having a bearing on our question which he puts in the mouth of any person in the poem.

In order that the reader may follow the discussion intelligently it seems best to quote in full the most important passage concerned. I take it from Foerster's small edition of 1909:

Et [Enide] ploie de si grant ravine,
Que plorant dessor la peitrine

- 2495 An chieent les lermes sor lui,
 Et dist: "Lasse, con mar m'esmui
 De mon païs! Que ving ça querre?
 Bien me devroit sorbir la terre,
 Quant toz li miaudre chevaliers,
 2500 Li plus hardiz et li plus fiers,
 Li plus biaux et li plus cortois,
 Qui onques fust ne cuens ne rois,
 A del tot an tot relanquie
 Por moi tote chevalerie.
 2505 Donques l'ai je honi por voir;
 Nel vossisse por nul avoir."
 Lors li a dit: "Con mar i fus!"
 A tant se test, si ne dist plus.
 Erec ne dormi pas formant,
 2510 Si l'a tresoï an dormant.
 De la parole s'esvella
 Et de ce mout se mervella,
 Que si formant plorer la vit,
 Si li a demandé et dit:
 2515 Dites moi, bele amie chiere,
 Por quoi plorez an tel maniere?
 De quoi avez ire ne duel?
 Certes, je le savrai mon vuel.
 Dites le moi, ma douce amie,
 2520 Et gardez, nel me celez mie:
 Por quoi avez dit que mar fui?
 Por moi fu dit, non por autrui.
 Bien ai la parole antandue."
 Lors fu mout Enide esperdue,
 2525 Grant peor ot et grant esmai.
 "Sire", fet ele, "je ne sai
 Neant de quanque vos me dites."
 "Dame, por quoi vos escondites?
 Li celers ne vos i vaut rien.
 2530 Ploré avez, ce voi je bien.
 Por neant ne plorez vos mie;
 Et an dormant ai je oïe
 La parole que vos deïstes."
 "Ha! biaux sire! onques ne l'oïstes,

- 2535 Mes je cuit bien que ce fu songes."
 "Or me servez vos de mançonges ;
 Apertement vos oi mantir ;
 Mes tart vandroiz au repantir,
 Se voir ne me reconoissiez."
 2540 "Sire, quant vos si m'angoissiez,
 La verité vos an dirai,
 Ja plus ne le vos celerai ;
 Mes je criem biem, ne vos enuit." . . .

And then she tells him all with complete frankness, and says she is the more distressed because people put the blame on her. The last part of this speech of hers is:

- "Autre consoil vos covient prandre,
 Que vos puissiez cest blasme estaindre
 Et vostre premier los ataindre ;
 Car trop vos ai oï blasmer :
 2570 Onques nel vos osai mostrer.
 Sovantes foiz, quant m'an sovient,
 D'angoisse plorer me covient.
 Tel pesance or androit an oi,
 Que garde prandre ne m'an soi,
 Tant que je dis que mar i fustes."

He answers in the immediately following lines:

- "Dame!", fet il, "droit an eüstes,
 Et cil qui m'an blasment ont droit." . . .

Then he abruptly gives her the order to prepare at once to ride, and she does so in great distress, blaming herself for "la folie qu'ele dist", and for her own pride.¹ In v. 2790 we see that she thinks that Erec has come to hate her.

Since Chrétien tells us of Enide's fear of telling Erec what people were thinking of him,² it appears that the poet represents her

¹ Mes tant m'a orguiauz sozleeve :
 An mon orguel avrai damage,
 Quant je ai dit si grant outrage,
 Et bien est droiz que je l'i aie. (vv. 2606 ff.)

² Mes sanblant feire n'an osa ;
 Car ses sire an mal le preïst
 Assez tost, s'ele li deïst. (vv. 2470-72)

Cf. also v. 2570, quoted above.

as standing in awe of him even at the time when he was most absorbed in love for her, and that he is in her eyes the master and a very masterful master.³ True, we hear blame of her pride, but this blame the poet puts in her mouth, and he may have merely meant to express an exaggeration in her self-reproach, very natural under the circumstances; moreover she might really have felt some pride without having shown it; in which case she did not deserve blame for it.⁴ If, however, Chrétien really thought of her as having previously displayed some haughtiness (which is not my opinion), then this self-accusation can be taken as an indication of some degree of real guilt on her part, which may palliate though it cannot justify Erec's treatment of her.

The first question I wish to raise is this. How much of Enide's speech while she thought Erec asleep (vv. 2479-2507) did he, according to Chrétien, actually hear and understand? The words "une parole" (v. 2487)⁵ and "la parole" (v. 2511) seem to refer to what he distinctly heard, which caused his questioning and all the following trouble; and "la parole" in vv. 2523 and 2533 it is natural to take as meaning the same thing. Foerster understands Chrétien as meaning that he heard all she said; see his *Einleitung* to the edition of 1909, p. xviii. It is well to quote a few lines from his language here: Erec hatte aber alles gehört und ist auf das Tiefste verletzt, dass der Gegenstand seiner Liebe, dem er sich ganz hingegen, ihm in solcher Weise seinen Minnedienst lohnt. Zwar der Dichter verliert über das innere Seelenleben des Helden kein Wort, etc.⁶

³ Whether Enide was in the original form of the story a fairy or not is a question which I do not discuss. For Chrétien she certainly is not.

⁴ Compare *Romania*, XX, 164, n. 1, at end: parce qu'elle ne peut deviner qu'il y en a un autre [i. e., motif]. Here Enide may be thinking that she has sometimes shown pride and that Erec has noticed it and taken offence at it. She does not understand his real motive for his conduct, and she is perhaps trying to find a reason.

⁵
 Tel duel an ot et tel pesance,
 Qu'il li avint par mescheance
 Que ele dist *une parole*,
 Dont ele se tint puis por fole, etc. (vv. 2485 ff.)

⁶ In this connection it may be noted that in the edition of 1896, v. 2510 reads *Si l'antroï tot an dormant*; that of 1909 reads as in the first edition, that of 1890. (In consequence, doubtless, of the 1896 reading *antroïr* 'halb hören' is still in the glossary of the 1909 edition, while *tresoir* is lacking.) I am not objecting to

Now not every one has so understood the passage. Gaston Paris (*Romania*, XX, 159), I think, understood Chrétien to mean that what Erec heard was the last words ("Con mar i fus"), and not also all that Enide had said in the preceding verses. F. Lot (*Romania*, XXVIII, 333-4) says: Il [Erec] avait entendu une partie du monologue de sa femme. The matter is of some consequence for our subject, since vv. 2503-4, if heard (according to Chrétien) by Erec, might be understood by him as a reproach, especially if he had heard only enough of the preceding words to gather that she was speaking of him. Neither Foerster nor Lot, for example, seems to have thought there could be any doubt as to how much Erec heard. Zenker has even gone so far as to regard Foerster's explanation of the treatment Enide receives from Erec as altogether baseless (*Zur Mabinogionfrage*, p. 75). Voretzsch, on the other hand, writes (*Einführung in d. Stud. d. altfranz. Lit.*, 2d ed., p. 301): Enide lässt sich durch das gerede der leute verleiten, ihrem gatten vorwürfe zu machen; a statement for which I find no sufficient justification, but this passage, with vv. 2548 ff., may have occasioned his remark.

A probable, if not a certain answer to the question can, I believe, be made if we examine Chrétien's words closely. There is no doubt that he says that Erec is at first sleeping;⁷ that is, before Enide begins speaking. Enide is awake; she remembers the common talk about Erec and cannot help weeping (vv. 2484 ff.) while she looks at him, and her tears fall upon him (vv. 2494-5). Her monologue begins in v. 2496, but the poet has already told us (vv. 2485 ff.; see above, p. 118, n. 5) that she said a thing which she afterwards regretted, though she meant no ill when she said it. Chrétien gives us her words of regret for the unhappy situation of which she is the innocent cause (vv. 2496-2506). Then he breaks off for an instant to add, as a separate utterance, introduced by words of his own (*Lors li a dit*), her final words, "Con mar i fus!" (v. 2507). With that she stops speaking, he tells us (v. 2508). He has thus carefully divided her speech into two parts. Erec, so Chrétien says at this point, "ne dormi pas formant" (v. 2509). The poet's probable either reading, but only pointing out that Foerster's opinion as to the better reading has not always been the same.

⁷ Cil [Erec] dormi, et ele [Enide] vella. (v. 2479)

meaning seems to me decidedly to be that Erec had been sleeping at first, and that he gradually became awake, but he was not fully awake even at the moment when these last four words were uttered. In v. 2510, the very next verse, we have "Si l'a tresoï an dormant", and in v. 2511 "De la parole s'esvella". Is it not most likely that the meaning is that he heard only these four words clearly, while, if he heard anything of Enide's previous words, it was only as an indistinct murmur? The following lines are also helpful, and they make this meaning appear as much the most probable one. Erec, now wide awake, asks Enide to explain—what? Surely what he has heard,⁸ and he specifies in v. 2521 just what words he wants explained, namely, the four words in v. 2507, and in v. 2523 he says that he has "bien entendue" those words (*la parole*).

If this is the right understanding of the passage thus far, then Chrétien did not mean his readers to think that Erec heard Enide's words in vv. 2503-4, and he (Erec) has no reason to see or to suspect any reproach in what she says. "Con mar i fus" is certainly not a reproach, but rather an expression of pity or regret, or a lament, especially when one reflects that she has been weeping. The words do not even imply any doubt of Erec's worth or powers. That she has no doubt of his ability to regain his lost reputation appears from vv. 2566 ff. They might, to be sure, suggest to him the mistaken idea that she thinks he has deteriorated or that she has some such doubt. Yet her speech in vv. 2540 ff. should prevent any such misunderstanding, as indeed it seems to do (vv. 2576-7). He might still feel some resentment, but this would not be enough to excuse his action. Verses 4929-31⁹ in the reconciliation speech may have been considered by Foerster as supporting the opinion that Erec heard all that Enide had said, though I think they refer to her four words in v. 2507 and perhaps also to the further verses (up to 2535 or even to 2575) which tell what resulted from her utterance of those words.

⁸ He also asks why she has been weeping, but that is of less consequence; it only makes her sadness more evident.

⁹
Et se vos rien m'avez mesdite,
Jel vos pardoing tot et claim quite
Del forfet et de la parole.

Notice the perhaps accidental occurrence of the phrase "la parole," which reminds one of "la parole," "une parole," noted above, see p. 118. Cf. also below, note 14.

Foerster's remarks about the predominance of the man as compared with the woman (see *Zs. f. franz. Sprache u. Lit.*, XXXVIII, 177) suggest that he may have had a reason for his opinion similar to that expressed by Professor Nitze (see *Mod. Philol.*, XI, 447-8). The motive, according to this view, is Erec's need of asserting his sovereignty in the marriage relation. The theory in this form also seems to me to have no sufficient authorization in the words of the poem. No theory which seeks to find excuse for Erec's conduct in Enide's words or actions up to the end of v. 2507 or in her speech of explanation in vv. 2540-2575 can, I think, be upheld in view of the contradictory evidence of v. 2576, where Erec admits her justification, and perhaps that of vv. 4926-8¹⁰ in Erec's reconciliation speech, where he apparently abjures his right of sovereignty.¹¹ This last passage is treated ingeniously, but too briefly and not convincingly, I think, in the article mentioned (see *Mod. Philol.*, XI, 448-9), for Erec's words seem to recognize not merely Enide's actual power but also her right to exercise it without check. I am disposed to think that the idea of sovereignty in marriage was not at all in Chrétien's mind. If it was there present as one factor in determining Erec's actions it can have been only a comparatively unimportant factor. I feel pretty sure that Chrétien did not think of it as far as Enide's feelings and actions were concerned. The real motive is to be sought elsewhere. As I have said above (see pp. 117-18), I believe that Chrétien conceived of her as always loving and submissive to Erec after her marriage,¹² and that Erec's character in his conception was not such as to justify or excuse his recognizing the validity of her explanation in one place (v. 2576) and in almost the next breath beginning to treat her with harshness

¹⁰ Tot a vostre comandement
Vuel estre des or an avant
Aussi con j'estoie devant.

¹¹ It is certainly conceivable that in a more primitive form of the story Enide was a fairy and as such naturally had the upper hand, and that a relic of this situation has here survived. As to this I express no opinion. Chrétien perhaps simply meant here an expression of Erec's entire trust in Enide. It may be noticed that the word *comandement* is in rime, but this is not worth much as argument.

¹² If blame is attached to any one by the poet in v. 2439 ("De li fist s'amie et sa drue") it is to Erec and not to her. One may also compare, for whatever it may be worth, the French prose in Foerster's ed. 1890, p. 268, lines 12-15.

for the (really imaginary) fault of which he has just acquitted her. As an illustration of his power of calm reflection when under stress, one may compare his conduct when the dwarf strikes him (vv. 215-233), and also vv. 2725 ff. It is true, he apparently has some reason for complaining of slurs on his sovereignty, but the guilty ones are his own subjects, whose murmurings he has just learned of through Enide. But in v. 2577 he exculpates them also.

The psychological correctness of Erec's behavior urged in the same paper (p. 448) needs some comment. I am quite willing to grant that the conduct of Erec is psychologically explicable, that such a man might be unjust as he is (according to the sovereignty theory), though he has no plausible excuse. But this does not meet the real difficulty for me in the poem, which stands in the way of this theory. We are concerned in the present discussion not so much with the question whether Erec's conduct is psychologically natural or explicable as with the question whether the poet Chrétien made him act as he does with that reason (*i. e.*, that it is so explicable though it is unjust) in his (Chrétien's) mind. Nitze grants that Enide does not deserve (according to his and Foerster's theory) the very unjust treatment she gets, but he urges, in palliation of Erec's injustice, that it is not unnatural under the circumstances. But could the poet represent his hero as falling so far short of the ideal conduct of a good knight? We can see that a good man under tension may fall short of ideal conduct, but any intelligent outsider looking at the situation here presented must see that, in spite of the extenuating circumstances, Erec's conduct is distinctly discreditable, being flagrantly unjust. And Chrétien was such an intelligent outsider, and his readers were and are outsiders, and some of them in his own time must have been intelligent enough to see the unpardonable injustice Erec is, on this theory, guilty of toward Enide. Moreover he persists in it long after his anger has had time to cool. In the discussion of this point we may perhaps already see one of the reasons Chrétien may have had for not giving us explicitly Erec's motive as he (Chrétien) conceived it.¹³

¹³ In the same very interesting and ingenious paper (with only a small part of which I am concerned in this article) there is an argument against jealousy as Erec's motive. I am myself not one of those who think that in the one word "jealousy" lies the whole explanation of Erec's action. But the argument used (*ib.*, p. 447) seems to me inconclusive. It begins: "On the other hand, his

It is now time to ask if Chrétien does not furnish, though not in explicit terms, another reason for Erec's excessive harshness and for the perilous—for both Erec and Enide—expedition on which he forces her to accompany him, and to accompany him under most humiliating circumstances.

Such a reason I find in vv. 2514 ff., which recent discussions seem to have rather strangely neglected. Erec asks for an explanation of the words "Con mar i fus", which Enide has used. He says he knows they referred to him. Then Enide, not unnaturally, is frightened and loses her head. She answers that she does not know what he is talking about. He presses the question (vv. 2528-33), and she most unwisely persists in, let us say, evasiveness or equivocation, saying she thinks he must have been dreaming. Then he roughly breaks out, accusing her of lying (and one must recognize that the charge is not unjustified), and tells her it will be the worse for her if she does not confess the truth (vv. 2536-39). Now at last Enide sees that she must tell the truth and she does so fully and frankly. We know that she speaks with frankness, for Chrétien has previously told us of her trouble and why she had not spoken freely before. But can Erec be sure that she is doing so? Twice before she has tried to avoid telling the truth, and it

action is certainly not that of a jealous man. Were Erec jealous he would not constantly expose Enide to the temptation of getting rid of him [here a footnote referring to the romances and to *Guigemar*, 213]—a temptation for which Erec's expedition offers every opportunity." But this is precisely the kind of test which Chrétien's Erec might choose if really jealous, for it is a decisive one if it succeeds (cf. *Romania*, XX, 164), and what he may be supposed to wish is a crucial test, one which can leave no doubt in his mind in case Enide meets it successfully. The test which he applies, whatever he wishes to decide by it, may be compared with a desperate remedy in a case of dangerous illness, which will do one of two things, kill or cure. Erec's test comes dangerously near killing, but it does cure.

It is true, as Nitze goes on to say, that "Crestien takes especial care to show that Enide's virtue is above all suspicion, and states categorically in 3304: Erec ne fu mie jalos." But it is Chrétien as narrator that makes each of these statements, and the time of the former one is before Enide's monologue and her resulting talk with Erec. Chrétien tells his readers more than Erec need be supposed to know. We know, for Chrétien tells us so (cf. vv. 2430-31), that no evil could be said of her, and we feel sure that she is a true and loving wife. Erec also doubtless thinks so until some time after her monologue ends (v. 2507). But afterwards how is it with him? Verse 3304 is indecisive. I understand it as Foerster did (*Zs. f. franz. Spr. u. Lit.*, XXXVIII, 176), as referring to that particular occasion only (which is about 800 lines after the monologue).

required a third demand with an accompanying threat as well as with the charge of lying, which she could not deny, to bring her to tell what he recognizes as seeming to be a justification for her conduct up to the end of v. 2507. It is not in his eyes a complete justification, but he is not the man to reject her explanation entirely, for it may be quite true, though her veracity, through her own fault, is now under grave suspicion. It would not be in keeping with his character to give expression to all his feelings or to use qualifying phrases; he is intent on her real fault,¹⁴ and on his plan, compared with which all that she says is really of secondary importance. So he merely accepts, as we may suppose, provisionally or with a mental reservation ("if you are telling the truth now"), her explanation with the curt acknowledgment in vv. 2576-77.

But, with human nature as it is and as it has always been, no one can now or could in Chrétien's own time blame him for not feeling entirely sure of her sincerity. To such a man as Chrétien's Erec, stern and masterful as well as devotedly loving, any such uncertainty must be intolerable. At any cost he must learn the truth. While Enide is speaking we can imagine him (strictly speaking, in Chrétien's conception of his character) as listening with patient and attentive courtesy, and at the same time gradually conceiving a plan to settle his doubt, or rather doubts. I say doubts, for there may well be more than one in his mind. The first, the all-inclusive one, is of course doubt of her veracity. The next is doubt of her love for himself. That this doubt existed the reconciliation speech¹⁵ clearly shows. Was there any suspicion that she loved another, or that she preferred another to him? I see no way of deciding this point and no need of assuming any such suspicion,

¹⁴ His blame of her is not because she has given him information (v. 2576 says that she has done right); it is because she refused him information (vv. 2526-34). It is perhaps the remembrance of that one lack of frankness with him that best explains "un certain ressentiment," noticed by Gaston Paris (*Romania*, XX, 164, n. 1), in vv. 4929-30 (quoted above, note 9; they are 4927-8 in Foerster's first edition). At the time of the reconciliation he no longer doubts the entire sincerity of her conduct towards him since that former error of hers, but that one lapse, though forgiven, has yet left a little soreness.

¹⁵

Ma douce suer!

Bien vos ai del tot essaiee!

Ne soliez de rien esmaiee,

Qu'or vos aim plus, qu'ains mes ne fis,

Et je resui certains et fis,

Que vos m'amez parfitemant, etc. (vv. 4920-25)

natural though it may be. Chrétien gives us no hint of the existence of any man whom Erec could suspect, and the hero expresses no such suspicion as Geraint has in the Welsh. There may have been jealousy plainly mentioned as Erec's motive in Chrétien's source, but it does not appear that jealousy with its usual implication of a rival is needed to explain Chrétien's form of the story. Another doubt we may conjecture, and that is Erec's own doubt of himself. Are those who blame him as having lost his former prowess really right? Has he indeed lost something of that prowess in the idle and relaxing life he has been leading? He must justify himself in his own eyes as well as in the eyes of his detractors. The imperious need of solving such doubts as these leads him to the "kill or cure" remedy which he chooses for the situation in which he finds himself.¹⁶

The preceding discussion shows where, in my opinion, *Enide's* fault (or guilt) lies. I have not thought it necessary to treat in this article the question of the ultimate or the immediate sources of Chrétien's *Erec*, nor that of the relation of the Welsh prose tale to his poem. But it will be noticed that what I look upon as her real fault and as the chief cause, if not indeed the only cause, of Erec's subsequent treatment of her is not mentioned in the Welsh,¹⁷ and it may well be that Chrétien is entirely original in vv. 2515-42. If he is, I think that he deserves much credit, and that the whole passage under discussion shows him at his best in delineation of character, or rather in characterization by means of the actions and utterances of his characters.

Let us assume for the moment that Chrétien's source explicitly mentioned jealousy as Erec's motive (as is not improbable; whether it really did so or not is a question which I avoid), and that he suppressed all mention of jealousy, whether because he did not wish to put his hero in a somewhat ridiculous light as a jealous husband or for some other reason. According to my understanding, however,

¹⁶ In vv. 2725 ff. we see that he fully understands what serious risks he is running, and he makes provision for the future of *Enide* in case he is killed and she returns. It is now necessary for the success of his plan that he should show himself absolutely fearless, whatever peril may present itself.

¹⁷ The German poet, Hartmann, has not altogether omitted (as the Norse does) the remarkable passage in Chrétien on which I lay such stress, but he seems not to see its full importance. It is not without interest to compare the French prose for the whole passage; see Foerster's *Erec* (large edition), pp. 268-9.

he could not, or at least did not, leave out the idea of doubt in Erec's mind concerning Enide, and if he simply avoided the word jealousy and did no more the whole situation would certainly suggest the thing itself to the reader. It was accordingly necessary to find a cause for that doubt, and one which should not inevitably involve the suggestion to the reader's mind of jealousy as the real motive. He hit on the happy idea of the very natural timidity of the weaker sex in its dealings with the stronger one, and used it very effectively and with perfect naturalness. He makes Erec ask his almost inevitable question at first with no sign of anger or even irritation; he simply wonders why Enide shows such sadness over his situation. Her fear of him, natural enough if we suppose Chrétien's conception of him to be that he is a knightly man of strong will and imperious nature though by no means unreasonable, is the reason why she tries to evade his question; the subject is one which we know she had not had the courage to mention to him. Then her continued attempt to avoid answering and her obvious insincerity, which provoke him to anger and to a threat in case she persists in concealing the truth, her tardy perception of her mistake and her final frankness, his curt recognition (in four words) of her justification,¹⁸ so far as it goes, his meanwhile formed plan (perhaps not yet complete) for testing her sincerity and for solving all the doubts she has raised in his mind, a plan which he does not tell her at once, ordering her at first simply to make ready to ride on her best palfrey and in her best apparel (note how the usually diffuse Chrétien has given the whole of Erec's speech in eight lines)—all this seems to me well conceived and skilfully executed by the poet. It may be an indication to us of the manner in which, when at his best, he was capable of treating his sources. Such skill in characterization is not likely to have existed in his source in this instance.

The Welsh story might either have preserved the jealousy motive from a source common to it with Chrétien, or it might have carelessly inferred it from Chrétien's account and omitted as superfluous his indication of another and very plausible motive. Between these two possibilities I do not care to choose as yet.

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¹⁸ She offers none for what is her real fault in his eyes, her lack of veracity.

THE QUECHUA DRAMA, *OLLANTA*

I

O*LLANTA* is the most important literary work that has been composed in any language indigenous to America. The drama itself has little intrinsic merit, but it has become famous by reason of the fact that many suppose it to have been composed before the conquest of Peru by the Spaniards. This theory of the antiquity of *Ollanta* has been held by Barranca,¹ Tschudi,² Markham,³ Pacheco Zegarra,⁴ and others of less weight; and it has come to be accepted by a not inconsiderable number of historians and writers of encyclopedic articles.⁵

¹ José S. Barranca, *Ollanta, ó sea la severidad de un padre y la clemencia de un rey, drama dividido en tres actos, traducido del quichua al castellano, con notas diversas*, Lima, 1868.

² J. J. von Tschudi, *Die Kechuasprache*, 3 vols., Wien, 1853. (The second part contains the text of *Ollanta*.)

—, *Ollanta. Ein altperuanisches drama aus der Kechuasprache. Übersetzt und commentirt.* Wien, 1875.

—, *Ollanta*, in *K. Akademie der Wissenschaften. Denkschriften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse.* Wien, 1876.

The second and third publications contain what is known as Tschudi's second text of *Ollanta*. All quotations from *Ollanta* and all line-numbers that are cited in the present article refer to Tschudi's first text; but whenever Tschudi's opinion with regard to the origin of *Ollanta* is quoted, the reference is to the pages of the third publication.

³ Clements R. Markham, *Ollanta, an Ancient Ynca drama. Translated from the Original Quinchua.* London, 1871 (Contains a Quechua text, with a translation into English).

—, *The Incas of Peru*, London, 1910 (Contains *Apu Ollantay*, a translation into English).

⁴ Gavino Pacheco Zegarra, *Ollantai, drame en vers quechuas du temps des Incas, traduit et commenté*, Paris, 1878.

⁵ Cf. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. XXI (1911), p. 269 (speaks of *Ollanta* as an "Inca drama"); *New International Encyclopedia*, vol. XV (1905), p. 638 ("There was also a considerable body of song, legend and drama handed down by oral tradition. Among these the drama of *Ollanta*, committed to writing soon after the conquest, has been translated into several languages"); Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. I (1889), p. 282 ("... the drama of *Ollanta*, in all essential points, is of Inca origin," in article written by Markham); John Fiske, *The Discovery of America*, vol. II (1892), p. 363

If *Ollanta* was composed before the Spanish conquest, it is, with the possible exception of a few short lyrics, the only specimen of ancient Quechua⁶ poetry that has survived, and it is therefore of the greatest interest to students of comparative literature and to American archeologists. When we are told that a complete dramatic text has come down to us, virtually intact, from the ancient Peruvians, we are to be excused if we doubt at first. The burden of proof certainly rests on those who claim antiquity for *Ollanta*, and scholars should not accept the claim without conclusive evidence. It is the aim of this article to give an account of *Ollanta*, and then to present whatever evidence we now possess both for and against its antiquity.

The following is a résumé of the play:⁷

Act I. *Ollanta*, a chieftain of lowly birth, has won the love of Cusi-Coyllur ("Joy-Star"), daughter of the Inca Pachacutic. He speaks of his love to his servant, Piqui-Chaqui ("Flea-Foot"), and later to the high priest, Uillac-Umu (prophet or seer), both of whom warn him of the risk of wooing the Inca's daughter. In another scene the queen, Ccoya, who knows of this love-affair, seeks to console her daughter, who weeps and declares her fear that *Ollanta* has deserted her. Enter the King. Enter a chorus of boys and girls who dance. The boys sing to distract Cusi-Coyllur.⁸

("The Incas had bardic recitals and theatrical exhibitions; and one ancient drama, entitled '*Ollanta*,' has come down to us"); James Bryce, *South America* (1913), p. 155 f. ("There were, however, dramas which used to be acted, and among them one considerable work which, long preserved by oral recitations, was written down in the seventeenth century by Dr. Valdez, a Spaniard, the priest of Sicuani, and generally held to be in the main of native authorship, though perhaps touched up by Spanish taste. This is the so-called drama of *Ollantay*"); *et al.*

⁶ Or "Quichua." Most modern scholars prefer "Quechua" or "Queshua." Thus, Tschudi, Pacheco Zagarra, Middendorf, Pietschmann, Lenz, and others.

⁷ The orthography of the proper names is that of Tschudi's first text, with the one exception of Uillac-Umu (Huillca-Uma in the first text) which Tschudi, in his second edition, adopts from Markham's text, and which Middendorf (see page 139 of this article) also adopts.

⁸ The following is a literal translation of Middendorf's version of this song ("O Tuya" is repeated after each line): "Little bird, do not eat,—O Tuya,—In my princess' garden—Do not thus consume—The delicious maize.—White are the grains,—The ears are tender,—Of good savor within;—Soft are the leaves.—The snare for the greedy;—In the bird-lime thou shalt stick.—I shall cut off thy claws,—And thou shalt be caught.—Ask of the Piscaca.—You see it is strangled.—Ask for its heart;—Seek its feathers;—You see it has been

Exit the boys, and the maidens sing a *yarahui*.⁹ Ollanta appears before the king, and asks his daughter in marriage. The king refuses in anger, and dismisses Ollanta. In a monologue the latter gives expression to his sorrow and resentment.¹⁰ Ollanta and Piqui-Chaqui speak of flight from Cuzco. A song by an invisible singer is heard.¹¹

torn to pieces.—It picked only one little grain;—The same will befall you,—If only one (grain) is missing.” The spirit of this song would seem to indicate that it may be an adaptation of a folk-song. The *tuya* is a small bird. The *piscaca* is a larger bird whose dead body is sometimes fastened to a tree, to frighten away the *tuya*.

⁹ The following is a literal translation of Middendorf's version: “Two loving doves mourn and grieve, sigh and coo on an old, dry tree-trunk: a cruel fate has separated them. But one, it is told, lost its beloved companion in a stony field; it had never left it alone before. And the dove weeps and laments when it sees its companion and finds that it is already dead. And it sings in these words: ‘Where are thy eyes, O dove, and where thy lovely breast, thy heart so dear to me, thy softly caressing mouth?’ And the abandoned dove, wandering from rock to rock, calling out in tears, flies hither and thither, ever asking: ‘My heart, where art thou?’ Thus speaking, it flutters, and one morning it sinks down dead.”

¹⁰ As this monologue is generally considered the strongest passage in the drama, a literal translation of Middendorf's version is given here: “O Ollanta, Ollanta, thus does he (the king) expose thee to the scorn of all the land in return for so many services which thus hast rendered! O Cusi-Coyllur, my wife, today I have lost thee. I have brought thee to destruction, O princess. O my dove! O Cuzco, O beautiful city, from today, in the future, I shall be an enemy, an enemy, who will cruelly tear open thy bosom, to cast to the vultures thy heart, this tyrant, thy Inca. Persuading the Antis and seducing my countrymen, I shall bring many, many thousands, armed with shields. On the Sacsahuaman thou wilt perceive my warriors like a cloud. Then the flames will rise; thou wilt sleep in blood and thy Inca at my feet. Then shall he learn whether the valleys will fail me, whether thou still hast a voice. ‘By no means can I give her to thee,’ he said to me, (speaking) of his daughter. And then this word also escaped him: ‘But she could not be for thee,’ he said, terribly enraged, as I besought him on my knees. He is king because I am here: every one knows that. Now let happen (what may)!” Sacsahuaman is a hill overlooking Cuzco on which are the ruins of an ancient fortress or palace. Cf. Cieza de León, *Crónica del Perú, Segunda parte*, (edición de Jiménez de la Espada; Madrid. 1880), cap. LI; Markham, *The Incas of Peru*, p. 32 f.; and Bryce, *South America*, p. 118.

¹¹ The following is a literal translation of Middendorf's version of the Song of the Unknown: “A dove that I cherished I lost in a moment. If you wish to see her, seek her near here. She is loving and fair of face: her name is Star. You might mistake her for another: look at her well. The moon and the sun, in bright radiance, shine upon her brow joyously. And her soft hair of deepest black forms with the white of her beautiful ear a contrast that blinds the eye. The eye-brows form rainbows upon her lovely face: two suns

Act II. A messenger reports to the king and his general, Rumiñahui ("Stone-Eye"), that the Andean mountaineers have rebelled and proclaimed Ollanta their king. The scene now shifts to the fortress of Ollanta-Tambo.¹² The chief's and people proclaim Ollanta king. In a lonely mountain pass Rumiñahui bemoans his defeat by Ollanta's forces. The scene shifts to the convent of the elect virgins in Cuzco. Pitu-Salla ("Mother-Stone") urges Yma-Sumac ("Very-Beautiful"), a girl some ten years of age (the fruit of the love of Ollanta and Cusi-Coyllur), to remain in the convent; but Yma-Sumac does not wish to become an elect virgin, and she tells of hearing some one sob at night. Rumiñahui meets Piqui-Chaqui on a street in Cuzco, and tells him that the Inca Pachacutic is dead and his son, Thupac-Yupanqui, has ascended the throne. The new Inca urges Rumiñahui to conquer Ollanta. Rumiñahui, covered with self-inflicted wounds, betakes himself to Ollanta's fortress, and declares that, having been thus ill treated by the Inca, he has come to join forces with Ollanta.

Act III. In the convent of the elect virgins, Pitu-Salla leads Yma-Sumac to the dark dungeon in which Cusi-Coyllur lies bound with a chain. Mother and daughter recognize each other. In the king's palace, a messenger announces the defeat and capture of Ollanta by Rumiñahui. The latter soon appears and confirms the news of his victory, relating how he won the confidence of Ollanta, and how, when Ollanta's men were drunk during the festival of the sun, he overpowered them. Ollanta and his followers are brought bound before the Inca, who at first condemns them to death and then, moved by pity, pardons them. The Inca restores Ollanta to his former rank, and announces that during his absence in a military campaign Ollanta shall serve as Inca in his stead. Yma-Sumac bursts into the hall, and, throwing herself in tears at the king's feet, tells of her mother's cruel imprisonment. The king and his retinue shine forth from her eyes about which are the rainbows. The eye-lashes scarcely let the all-victorious glances escape. There dwells love, beaming on all and captivating hearts. The achancarai (a red flower) blooms on her face, in the midst of snow: white alternates with red,—such is her appearance. In her beautiful mouth one sees snowy pearls, and when she smiles her sweet breath is wafted forth. And her soft neck, smooth as crystal, is as white as snow: her lovely breasts rise and fall with her bosom. Her tender little hand feels so soft, and her fingers, when they open, resemble icicles."

¹² The ruins of this structure are twelve leagues from Cuzco. In the early chronicles they are spoken of as Tampu or Tombo. Cf. Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales, Primera parte* (Lisbon, 1609), V, 5, and Cieza de León, *La Crónica del Perú* (Seville, 1533; and in *Bibl. de aut. esp., Historiadores primitivos de Indias*, Madrid, 1879), Cap. XCIV. Tschudi (*op. cit.*, p. 185) believes that they date from a pre-Inca civilization.

go to the convent of the elect virgins, and there Cusi-Coyllur is recognized by both her brother and her lover. The Inca orders the release of Cusi-Coyllur, and gives her in marriage to Ollanta; and the play closes to the accompaniment of music.

The fact that *Ollanta* first appeared in the Quechua language has no bearing whatever on the question of the play's antiquity. It is a well known fact that in the Spanish colonies the priests were required to learn the native tongues, and, after residing for many years among the Indians, they came to speak the indigenous languages as well as Spanish. They translated from Spanish many religious works and wrote and published grammars and dictionaries of the native speeches. Sacred dramatic representations were given both in Spanish and in the indigenous languages almost from the time of the conquest. Pacheco Zegarra¹³ states that the early missionaries in Peru composed *autos*, some of which were in Quechua only, while in others Spanish and Quechua stanzas alternated. According to Beristain,¹⁴ at least two plays of Lope de Vega were early done into Nahuatl by Bartolomé de Alba, of Aztec descent, and performed, viz.: *El animal profeta y dichoso parricida San Julián* and *La madre de la Mejor*. D. Vicente G. Quesada, in his *Crónicas potosinas* (Paris, 1890), Vol. I, p. 305,¹⁵ gives an account of scenic fêtes at Potosí in the early days of that famous mining town. They seem to have been largely in the nature of historical pageants, and represented deeds of both the Incas and the Spanish conquerors. Verses were recited in Spanish and in Quechua. Pacheco Zegarra¹⁶ speaks of several dramas that were written in Quechua after the conquest, and gives the titles,—but not the authors and the dates,—of *La muerte de Atahualpa*, *Usca Paucar*, and *Huasca Inca*. Middendorf has published the Quechua plays, *El hijo pródigo* and *Usca Paucar* (see page 145 of this article); and Markham has in his possession manuscript copies of *Usca Paucar* and *El Pobre más rico*. Pacheco Zegarra¹⁷ tells us that his great-uncle, D. Pedro Zegarra (d. 1839), translated Racine's *Phèdre* into Quechua,

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. lxxxv.

¹⁴ *Biblioteca hispano-americana septentrional*, Mexico, 1816-21.

¹⁵ Quoted by Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas hispano-americanos*, vol. III (1894), p. cclxxxvi f.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. cvii.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. cxxiv.

and that the play was performed at least once. The Quechua language is still generally spoken by the Indians in the highlands of Peru,¹⁸ but as the aboriginal population is mostly illiterate, Quechua Literary works come from those who have been trained in Spanish schools. The *regionalista* movement of the nineteenth century which brought, for the time being, new life to Provençal, Catalán, Welsh and other languages that are in danger of extinction, may have reached the Quechua also and stimulated interest in *Ollanta*.

This Quechua drama seems to have come to light between 1770 and 1780 when a manuscript was produced by Dr. Antonio Valdés, parish priest of Tinta,¹⁹ who had the play performed with great pomp²⁰ before his friend, José Gabriel Condorcanqui (1744-1781), a native chieftain. This chieftain, who was of Inca blood, led a revolt against the Spaniards in 1780, with the Inca-title of Tupac-Amaru II, and was defeated and put to death together with all his family. Immediately after the revolt an order was issued against the performance of secular plays in the Quechua language.²¹ We next hear of *Ollanta* in an article published in *El Museo erudito*, Cuzco, 1837, by D. Manuel Palacios,²² entitled *Tradición de la rebelión de Ollanta* (or *Ollantay?*), *y acto heroico de fidelidad de Rumiñahui, ambos generales del tiempo de los Incas*. In an introduction to this article, Palacios says: "No encontrándose otra narración escrita de este antiquísimo suceso que la comedia que en lengua quechua formó pocos años ha el Dr. Antonio Valdés, cura que fué de Sicuani. Bien que confeccionada dicha pieza con el uniforme relato de la tradición, se encuentran innovaciones y voluntariedades que sin duda se las franqueó la licencia poética; ya en la invención de los nombres de los sujetos que representan el drama, y ya en el desenlace que resulta de él; que ni la tradición lo ministra, ni la equidad y justicia lo permiten; haciendo que un rey premie extraordinariamente la infidencia de Ollanta y en nada recompense la fidelidad heroica de Rumiñahui. Lo más notable en ello es el

¹⁸ Cf. Bryce, *op. cit.*, p. 461.

¹⁹ And, at one time, of Sicuani.

²⁰ Cf. Pacheco Zagarra, *op. cit.*, p. cxix.

²¹ Cf. Pacheco Zagarra, *op. cit.*, p. cix.

²² The article was reprinted in an appendix to Pacheco Zagarra's work. Tschudi, who had not seen the article, attributes its authorship to José Palacios (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 190).

anacronismo que padece, haciendo inmediato sucesor del Inca Pachacutic, en cuyo tiempo y al fin de su reinado supone el suceso de Ollanta, á Tupac-Inca-Yupanqui, que fué nieto de aquél é hijo del Inca Yupanqui, verdadero sucesor inmediato de Pachacutic."

According to this tradition, which Palacios obtained from the members of a certain native family, Rumiñahui entered the convent of the elect virgins, and was therefor condemned to death. A report of this incident soon reached Ollanta's camp. Rumiñahui explained his plot to the king, and was allowed to flee to Ollanta, whom he betrayed. Palacios says at the end of the tradition: "Aquí fenece la tradición sin expresar ni el premio que dió el Inca á Rumiñahui ni el castigo de Ollanta . . . La conteste narración de los historiadores del reino sobre la inviolable justificación del gobierno de los Incas nos obliga á creer que el delito de Ollanta no quedaría impune ni tampoco sin recompensa el heroismo de Rumiñahui." It should be noted that in this article the authorship of *Ollanta* is attributed to Dr. Valdés. After the latter's death in 1816, his nephew and heir, D. Narciso Cuenta, produced a manuscript copy of the play (in Valdés' handwriting, according to Tschudi²³), and declared that his uncle wrote it. So far as can be learned, the truth of this statement by Cuenta was not denied till many years later. It is said by those who uphold the antiquity of *Ollanta* that Dr. Valdés never claimed to be its author.²⁴ This may, or may not, be true; but, in any case, after the execution of Tupac-Amaru and most of his friends, and after the strict prohibition of secular Quechua dramas, Valdés had good reason to remain silent.

In 1853, in the chrestomathy of the second volume of his *Die Kechuasprache*,²⁵ Tschudi published an edition of the text of *Ollanta*, but without a translation. Tschudi states that he received a copy of the play from Rugendas, a painter from Munich who had spent a year or two sketching in Peru.²⁶ Rugendas told him that

²³ *Op. cit.*, p. 192.

²⁴ D. Vicente Fidel López, in *les Races aryennes du Pérou* (p. 325), says that his father, a friend of Valdés, did not know that the latter was the author of *Ollanta*; but he adds: "Toutefois je suis loin de prétendre que la forme actuelle du drame soit antérieure à la conquête."

²⁵ *Cf. op. cit.*

²⁶ *Cf. op. cit.*, p. 191.

he had seen the manuscript in the monastery of Santo Domingo at Cuzco, and had had it copied by a member of the order. The manuscript, he said, was in bad condition, and in part illegible.²⁷ In this text the play was divided into three acts, but it was not divided into scenes. In 1868 Barranca, a professor of natural sciences in the university of San Marcos at Lima, published a Spanish version of *Ollanta*, but without the Quechua text.²⁸ This version, which is in good idiomatic Spanish, seems to be a rather free translation of Tschudi's text. In an introduction, Barranca advances the theory that *Ollanta* consists of ancient fragments put together by Valdés, and he bases his belief in their antiquity on certain reasons of which the following are the most important: that there is no mention of Christianity, and a pagan society is pictured; it contains songs still heard; the language is archaic (although there are very few obsolete words); the manuscripts differ; and there is a chorus. Eighteen years after the appearance of Tschudi's edition, Markham published a text of *Ollanta*²⁹ which he himself had transcribed from a manuscript in the possession of D. Pablo Justiniani of Laris, Peru. In the introduction, which is short and of a popular nature, Markham states that Justiniani (who claimed to be of Inca blood) assured him that the drama was first reduced to writing by Dr. Valdés, and that the original manuscript was at that time in the possession of Valdés' nephew and heir, D. Narciso Cuentas of Tinta; that his (Justiniani's) copy was made by his father, D. Justo Pastor Justiniani, from Valdés' manuscript. Markham gives an English version of *Ollanta* and expresses his belief that the play is ancient. This second text of *Ollanta* is of value, for it contains some lines that had been omitted in Tschudi's edition and also some variants; but, unfortunately, it has many errors, probably made in copying.³⁰

²⁷ Middendorf (p. 114) relates that he visited the monastery of Santo Domingo to examine the manuscript, but he was told by both the prior and the librarian that they had never heard of the manuscript. The catalogue of the library did not contain the title of *Ollanta*, and although Middendorf searched the archives he failed to find a copy of the play.

²⁸ Cf. *op. cit.*

²⁹ Cf. *op. cit.*

³⁰ Tschudi (*op. cit.*, p. 205 f.) twits Markham with ignorance of Quechua and says his translation follows Barranca's version. And Pacheco Zagarra (*op. cit.*, p. cxviii) says: "Après un examen attentif des travaux de Markham sur le quechua, nous sommes arrivés à souscrire pleinement au jugement de

Markham gives the following reasons for believing *Ollanta* to be ancient: that the language is archaic, and that "there is not a single modern or Spanish word or phrase in the whole work . . . *Ollanta* is absolutely free from any indication of a Spanish touch."⁸¹ Dr. José Fernández Nodal published in 1873 or 1874 (no date is given) his *Elementos de la gramática quichua ó idioma de los Yncas*. Volume V, entitled *Prosodia*, contains a text of *Ollanta* with a translation into Spanish. This volume was later reprinted separately with the title: *Los vínculos de Ollanta y Cusi-kcuyllor. El rigor de un padre y magnanimidad de un monarca. Drama en quichua. Obra compilada y espurgada con la versión castellana al frente de su testo por el Dr. José Fernández Nodal, abogado de los tribunales de justicia de la república del Perú*, Ayacucho (but apparently printed in London in 1874). In the introduction, which is very brief, Dr. Nodal says: "Tal es el título de la más grande composición de la literatura del quichua que se guarda en algunos archivos del Perú. Se le atribuye por autor al Dr. D. Antonio Valdez, cura de Sicuani, que vivió por el tiempo de la insurrección de Tupac Amaro en 1781. Los que han querido recargar su mérito, concediéndole la antigüedad de la época de los Yncas, pretenden haberse representado á presencia de estos últimos monarcas en las festividades solemnes." Tschudi, in his second edition,⁸² says Nodal's text differs from all others, and was probably rewritten by Nodal himself. He expresses his belief, however, that Nodal had a thorough knowledge of Quechua. But Pacheco Zegarra⁸³ sharply criticizes Nodal's bizarre text.

Tschudi published in 1875 and again in 1876 a second edition of *Ollanta*,⁸⁴ with a translation into German. This text differs considerably from that first published by Tschudi. The editor corrected what he considered to be errors, he added or substituted words or lines from Markham's text and from that of a certain Bolivian manuscript, he changed the form of words, and especially

Tschudi qui pense que la langue des Incas était pour cet auteur un terrain étranger où il ne pouvait que s'égarer." These criticisms are scarcely fair, as Markham was then just beginning his Peruvian studies.

⁸¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁸² *Op. cit.*, p. 208.

⁸³ *Op. cit.*, pp. cxv and cxxi.

⁸⁴ *Cf. opera cit.*

the suffixes, to make them conform to the Quechua of the sixteenth century,⁸⁵ and he devised a new orthography to express better the sounds of the Quechua language. In a long introduction Tschudi expresses his belief in the antiquity of *Ollanta* and bases this belief chiefly on the following reasons: that Garcilaso states that the ancient Peruvians had tragedies and comedies;⁸⁶ the drama is written fully in the spirit of the Inca-Peruvians; there is no reference to Christianity; Ollanta and his beloved do not meet alone in the play, and Ollanta is a sorry hero (he praises his own heroism and is finally captured when drunk); in the rapid changes of time and place the play, he says, differs from the old Spanish drama; the language of the play is archaic and does not conform to the popular speech of today (1875) or at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and there are almost no Spanish words or idioms; and the meter is not Spanish, as some lines are of irregular length and some are incomplete, and the movement is regularly trochaic.

Tschudi also presents in this second edition an important piece of evidence against the authorship of Valdés. In 1858 Herr Harmssen, a resident of Arequipa, Peru, gave Tschudi several books and manuscripts in the Quechua language, among which was a manuscript copy of *Ollanta*. This manuscript had seemingly been water-soaked and was partly decayed, so that only 466 whole verses and 172 defective verses were legible. It bore a Spanish title, *Ollanta, ó la severidad de un padre y la clemencia de un rey*. At the end of the text were words in Spanish that Tschudi deciphered as follows:

Na Sra de la Paz

oi 18 de Junio de 1735

Miguel Ortiz

Now this date, if correctly deciphered, is approximately that of the birth of Dr. Valdés, and if the copy was made at that time, Valdés, of course, could not be the author. Middendorf⁸⁷ brushes this evi-

⁸⁵ This is the most important change of all, and it is not mentioned in the introduction. Apparently Tschudi was so convinced of the antiquity of *Ollanta* that he considered the modern forms of his manuscript copy to be errors of a copyist; or, as Middendorf (page 124) suggests, he was ignorant of modern Quechua.

⁸⁶ Tschudi (*op. cit.*, p. 195) believes that *Ollanta* survived as it was peculiarly the love-poem of the Cuzco Indians, while hundreds of other poems were lost.

⁸⁷ Page 134.

dence aside as of little value. He speaks of Tschudi's "so-called Bolivian manuscript," and suggests that the correct reading is probably 1785. In this second edition Tschudi gives, in parallel columns, copies of his first text and of Markham's text, together with the variants found in the Bolivian manuscript. This makes the work highly valuable to the student of *Ollanta*, although Tschudi's introductory matter and notes are disappointingly deficient in critical scholarship. The next edition of *Ollanta* to appear was that of Pacheco Zegarra,³⁸ which was published at Paris in 1878, and contains the Quechua text in a phonetic alphabet devised by the editor together with a free translation into French, an introduction and notes, and, in an appendix, a copy of the article in *El Museo erudito*. The text of this edition is in the main that of Tschudi, but with variants taken from Markham's copy and also from another manuscript copy formerly in the possession of Pacheco Zegarra's great-uncle D. Pedro Zegarra. The editor arbitrarily divides the play into scenes and dialogues. Pacheco Zegarra holds that *Ollantai*, and not *Ollanta*, is the correct form of the name, and that the suffix *-i* denotes the inhabitant of a place, so that *Ollantai* means an inhabitant of Ollanta.³⁹ Middendorf⁴⁰ denies this and states positively that there is no such locative suffix in Quechua. Pacheco Zegarra was for years a resident of Cuzco, where Quechua is still commonly spoken, and his phonetic alphabet, therefore, is of value to the student of modern Quechua; but he seems not to have been acquainted with the older Quechua, for when Tschudi changed his text to conform to the language of the sixteenth century, Pacheco Zegarra cried out that Tschudi was introducing new forms. Pacheco Zegarra's work is interesting by reason of the author's knowledge of modern Quechua and of the life and customs of the present-day indigenous peoples of Peru. He also presents a mass

³⁸ Cf. *op. cit.*

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. xxxiii. We have already spoken of the pre-historic ruins of Tambo, or Ollanta-Tambo, twelve leagues from Cuzco, which some writers assume to have been Ollanta's place of refuge. Tschudi (*op. cit.*, p. 187) says: "I hold, therefore, that Ollanta was not the name of an individual but of a ruling family, that this (family) had already built the palace and the fortress (of Tambo) in pre-Inca times, and that the fortress was already in ruins before the Inca dynasty was firmly established." But Tschudi offers no satisfactory evidence in favor of this assumption.

⁴⁰ Page 90.

of material bearing on the setting of *Ollanta*, some of which is important. But his work, as a whole, is hasty and ill-digested and reveals a lack of critical judgment. In his introduction he accepts without reservation the more or less fanciful accounts of an ancient Peruvian Utopia;⁴¹ he accepts as authenticated the existence of a well developed dramatic literature in old Peru (quoting Garcilaso and Prescott), although "la peinture et la sculpture étaient encore tout-à-fait dans l'enfance parmi eux,"⁴² and states that "*Ollantāi*" is "l'unique monument qui nous reste du génie des Incas en matière de poésie,"⁴³ and again, "*Ollantāi*" is "tout ce qui reste de la littérature de l'empire."⁴⁴ In addition to the arguments that had already been advanced in favor of the ancient origin of the play, Pacheco Zegarra gives these: there is not an idea that is exclusively peculiar to the literatures of modern Europe or to the Latin and Greek; the chorus was not used in the old Spanish drama; the unities of time, place and action are observed to a less degree than even in the works of the romantic poets; the scenes shift oftener than would be possible on the modern stage; the verse differs from Spanish in that there are rimed couplets, there is occasionally assonance of every line to the number of eight or more consecutive lines,⁴⁵ synalepha is rare, and a line left unfinished by one speaker is never completed by another; and the song, "O Tuya," is still heard in Cuzco.

⁴¹ When the Spaniards reached Peru, the half-brothers Huascar and Atahualpa were engaged in a fierce fratricidal struggle, which ended with the assassination of Huascar by the secret orders of his brother. And yet Pacheco Zegarra, after relating this fact, blandly continues: "Les Incas étaient loin de ressembler à ces fameux aventuriers qui de nos jours, sans autre mobile que la soif du lucre, sans autres aspirations que celle de leur ambition démesurée, montent à l'assaut du pouvoir suprême, après avoir épuisé dans des guerres fratricides les richesses de leur patrie et versé à flots le sang de leur concitoyens" (*op. cit.*, p. xxix). Tschudi (*op. cit.*, p. 178) avers that human sacrifice was common even under the Incas, and was finally suppressed by the Spaniards. Cieza de León (*op. cit.*, 2a parte) speaks several times of human sacrifice. Cf. Cap. XXVIII. Middendorf (page 19) believes, however, that it did not form part of the worship of the sun. There seems little doubt that the vaunted "civilization" of the ancient Peruvians has been greatly exaggerated by Garcilaso, by the early chroniclers who seem to have believed all that the old grandmothers told them, and by most who have followed.

⁴² *Op. cit.*, p. xx.

⁴³ *Op. cit.*, p. xx.

⁴⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. xi.

⁴⁵ The writer of this article has not found such *laissez* of assonated lines in any of the texts.

The most scholarly treatment of *Ollanta* by a Quechua scholar which has thus far appeared is the work entitled *Ollanta, ein Drama der Keshuasprache. Übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen, nebst einer Einleitung über die religiösen und staatlichen Einrichtungen der Inkas*, von Dr. E. W. Middendorf. Leipzig, 1890.⁴⁶ This writer states in his preface that when he began his study of the Quechua play he assumed it to be ancient, but "at the first reading of *Ollanta* doubts concerning the antiquity of the play occurred to him, which with further investigation so increased that it was no longer possible to doubt the modern origin of the drama. . . . in its present form," and he adds: "it is a modern work and was certainly composed a long time after the Spanish conquest of the country." Later in the work he says again: "The play in its present form, and in the language given in the manuscripts, does not come from the time of the Incas, but was composed after the conquest of the country by the Spaniards."⁴⁷ Middendorf did what no one had done before him in that he made a careful comparison of the language of the Tschudi and Markham texts with the Quechua of the sixteenth century as given in the works of Holguín and others.⁴⁸ He shows that the phonology of older Quechua differs considerably from that of the modern language. Thus, in the sixteenth century, the genitive suffix, after a single vowel, was *-p*, while it is now *-c* (compare old *yayap* with modern *yayac*); the accusative suffix after a vowel was *-cta*, which has become *-ta* (cf. *yayacta* and *yayata*); the verbal ending of the first and second per-

⁴⁶ Other works on the indigenous languages of Peru, by Dr. Middendorf, are: *Das Runa Simi oder die Keshua-Sprache*, Leipzig, 1890; *Wörterbuch des Runa Simi oder der Keshua-Sprache*, Leipzig, 1890; *Dramatische und lyrische Dichtungen der Keshua-Sprache*, Leipzig, 1890; *Die Aimarà-Sprache*, Leipzig, 1891; *Das Muchik oder die Chimu-Sprache*, Leipzig, 1892.

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 135.

⁴⁸ Among the earlier grammars and lexicons of Quechua are: *Grammática ó Arte de la lengua general de los indios de los reynos del Perú, nuevamente compuesta por el Maestro Fray Domingo de S. Thomas de la orden de S. Domingo*, Valladolid, 1560; *Vocabulario de la lengua general de todo el Perú llamada lengua Qquichua, ó Lengua del Inca, por Diego González Holguin de la Compañía de Jesus*, Lima 1586; *Grammática y Arte nueva* (the rest of the title as above), Lima, 1607; *Grammática y Vocabulario en la lengua general del Perú llamada Quinchua y en la lengua Española, por Diego de Torres Rubid*, Sevilla, 1603; Lima, 1619, 1700, 1754. Cf. Pacheco Zegarra, *op. cit.*, p. clxv f.; and Middendorf, *Das Runa Simi oder di Keshua-Sprache*, p. 29 f.

sons plural was *-c*, which has become *-s* (cf. *canchic* and *canchis*); etc. He found that in the manuscripts of the seventeenth century the modern forms begin to make their appearance, and there is hesitancy between the two forms so that not seldom both occur on the same page.⁴⁹ Now, in the known manuscripts of *Ollanta* only the modern forms occur: these manuscripts, therefore, are of later date than the seventeenth century.⁵⁰ Middendorf finds some archaic words in the drama, but not more than one would expect in view of the fact that it was reduced to writing a hundred years before his day.⁵¹ Other important grounds on which Middendorf bases his belief in the modern origin of *Ollanta* are: the ancient Quechua verse did not have rime; the action of the play does not conform to the laws and customs of the ancient Peruvians in that *Ollanta*, who is "not of Inca blood" (v. 238), marries the Inca's daughter, and Yma Sumac enters and leaves the convent of the elect virgins at will; Spanish words and translations of Spanish idioms are found in the text, and there are references to things and customs that were introduced by the Spaniards.⁵²

The Rev. J. H. Gybbon Spilsbury published in 1897, at Buenos Aires, a work entitled *El Quichua, gramática y crestomatía, seguido de la traducción de un manuscrito inédito del drama titulado Ollantay*. This sounds interesting; but the work has no introduction, nor does the editor deign to state where he found the "manuscrito inédito" or where it now rests. He gives free translations of *Ollanta* in English, French and Spanish, with the versions neatly arranged in parallel columns. One can not discover in this work the slightest trace of scholarship.

In Markham's *The Incas of Peru* there is a free English translation, in verse, of *Ollanta*, with a short introduction, and a few

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 110 f.

⁵⁰ Markham apparently accepts this conclusion as final, as he grants that the play was "first reduced to writing in 1770 (*The Incas of Peru*, p. 323).

⁵¹ Tschudi, who seems to have known the older Quechua better than that spoken in his day, in his second edition of the text of *Ollanta* has conscientiously substituted old for new forms. Thus: v. 6: *Yncac* (1st ed.) > *Incap* (2d ed.); v. 17: *cuncaiquita* (1st ed.) > *cuncaikicta* (2d ed.); v. 194: *upyanichis* (1st ed.) > *upiyanchik* (2d ed.). In v. 194 Tschudi, by using the archaic form, makes the line too long by one syllable.

⁵² These are treated more fully in the critical analysis of the play in the third part of this article.

pages on the subject in Chapter X. An incomplete bibliography is given in which Middendorf's work does not appear. Markham repeats that Dr. Justiniani told him "that the *Ollantay* play was put into writing by Dr. Don Antonio Valdez, the cura of Sicuani, from the mouths of Indians." He still maintains that *Ollanta* is an ancient Inca drama, and his grounds for so believing are: that Garcilaso, Molina and Salcamayhua mention the existence of ancient Quechua plays; that "there is a clear proof that the memory of the old dramatic lore was preserved, and that the dramas were handed down by memory after the Spanish conquest. It is to be found in the sentence pronounced on the rebels by the Judge Areche, in 1781. It prohibited the representation of dramas as well as all other festivals which the Indians celebrated in memory of their Incas."⁵³

The following translations of *Ollanta* have been published in addition to those already mentioned: *Ollanta. Drama quichua, puesto en verso castellano por Constantino Carrasco*, Lima, 1876. This is a metrical version of Barranca's translation. German translation of *Ollanta*, in verse, by A. Wickenburg, Vienna, 1876. *Ollanta. Drama quechua, traducido en romance*, por B. Pacheco, Cuzco, 1881. Spanish translation of Pacheco Zegarra's French version, in *Biblioteca universal*, Madrid, 1885.

II.

Since the versification of *Ollanta* has not been treated fully in any of the editions, it is considered at some length in this article. With the exception of two lyrics, *Ollanta* is composed in octosyllabic verses. There are occasional lines too long or too short by one or more syllables: e. g.,—10 syllables (138⁵⁴); 9 syllables (38,236⁵⁵); 7 syllables (256); 6 syllables (9,⁵⁶ 228⁵⁷). A curious peculiarity of the versification of the play is that a line left incomplete by one speaker is not completed in the next speech: e. g.,—verses 263, 268. Of the eighteen incomplete lines in Tschudi's first

⁵³ It will be recalled that this sentence was pronounced after the defeat of "Tupac Amaru II" and shortly after the first recorded appearance of *Ollanta*.

⁵⁴ The line numbers are those of Tschudi's first text. This line has 9 syllables in Markham's text.

⁵⁵ Both have 8 in Markham's text.

⁵⁶ Nine in Markham's text.

⁵⁷ Eight in Markham's text.

text, however, seven are completed in Markham's text. Pacheco Zegarra⁵⁸ states that Quechua verses have regular trochaic movement, and therefore verses must have an even number of syllables, and a line of eight syllables is better adapted to the drama than lines of six or ten syllables; but a study of accentuation in the verses of *Ollanta* shows that the proportion of lines with regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables is not much greater than in ordinary Spanish romance-verse.⁵⁹ The verses of *Ollanta*, therefore, are not necessarily octosyllabic by reason of regular trochaic movement, but would seem to be so because the author counted his syllables.

With regard to rime, the octosyllabic lines are chiefly in *redondillas* (*a b b a*), with occasional *décimas*,⁶⁰ *quintillas*,⁶¹ rimed couplets,⁶² and blank lines.

The following passages illustrate the commoner verse-forms:⁶³

Redondillas:

Huñu huñu huaranccata
 Anticunata llullaspa
 Suyuicunata tocllaspa
 pusamusacc pulccanccata,

 Saccsa huamanpin ricunqui
 Rimaita phuyuta hina;
 Chaipin sayarincca nina
 Yahuarpin chaipi puñunqui . . .
 (Verses 534-541)

Quintilla:

Munacusay Pitu-Salla
 Haicac caman ñei pacanqui
 Chai simita? Ricui Salla
 Cai sonccoitan patmihuanqui
 Caina huequehuan camalla . . .
 (Verses 1195-1199)

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. cxliii.

⁵⁹ Thus, in the monologues of *Ollanta* (verses 519-554) and *Rumiñahui* (verses 867-913), which are generally held to be the best parts of the play, of 83 lines, 44 can not be read with regular binary movement.

⁶⁰ Cf. verses 152-181.

⁶¹ Cf. verses 1195-1199.

⁶² Cf. verses 293-310.

⁶³ The stress almost invariably falls on the penultimate syllable of a Quechua word.

Décima:

Chaichica cuyasccanmanchu
 Chai qquellita cutichihuacc?
 Mitcaspachu puririhuacc
 Urmahuacc huc pponccomanchu?
 Manan Ynca munanmanchu
 Anchatan Ccoillurta cuyan⁶⁴
 Rimarinqui chairi cunan
 Ttocyancan phiñaricuspa
 Ccantac ricui muspha muspha⁶⁵
 Auquimanta cahuac runan?
 (Verses 172-181)

Rimed couplets:

Ay Mamallay, ay Ñustallay
 Ay huayllucuscai ccosallai
 Canta ricsicunaipacha
 Quillapi chai yana ppacha,
 Ynitipas pacaricuspa
 Ccospapurccan chiri uspha,
 Phuyupas tacru ninahuan
 Llaquita pailla huillahuan,
 Ccoyllurpas chasca tucuspa
 Chupata aisaricuspa
 Tucuiñincu tapia carccan
 Hinantinpas pisiparccan . . .
 (Verses 293-304)

In the *redondillas*, *décimas* and *quintillas*, assonance occasionally replaces consonantal rime.⁶⁶ In one lyrical passage, verses 1259-1297, there are several consecutive stanzas with the rime-scheme *a b a b a b c c*. Usually the final syllables of the last line of one speech do not rime with those of the first line of the following speech. Consequently, in rapid dialogue the rime is usually broken or may disappear entirely,⁶⁷ and even in long speeches the interposition of

⁶⁴ Note assonance instead of consonantal rime.

⁶⁵ Aspirated *ph* and *th* rime with *p* and *t* respectively.

⁶⁶ Thus, verses 894-897:

Hinantimpin rumi ñitin
 Hinantimpin ccacca pacan,
 Ashuan acllasccacunatan
 Chaipi, caipi cumpa sipin . . .

⁶⁷ Cf. Act II, Scene 9.

a blank line is not rare. There are no series of alternate assonating lines as in the Spanish *romance*-verse.

In the "Boys' Song" (verses 349-365), the lines are of 10 syllables, with regular ternary movement. Thus:

Ama Pisco miccúichu Tuyállai
 Ñustalláipa chacránta Tuyállai
 Manan hina tucúichu Tuyállai
 Hillorína saránta Tuyállai . . .⁶⁸

This resembles the 10-syllable line that Iriarte used in Spain in the eighteenth century, and which, in the nineteenth century, was largely used in the patriotic hymns of Spain and Spanish America.⁶⁹ In most of these lines in *Ollanta*, excluding the refrain, there is the rime-scheme *a b a b, c d c d*, etc. The "Song of the Unknown" (verses 599-638) is in adonics, with rime-scheme *a b a b, c d c d*, etc., throughout. Thus:

Urpi uyhuáita—chincachicúni
 Huc chhimlleillápi
 Pacta ricúhuac—tapucupúni
 Cai quitillápi . . .

After this lyric come nine lines by Ollanta which are probably also sung. These are alternating lines of 5 and 8 syllables, with the same rime-scheme as in the preceding verses.

In *Ollanta*, then, we find chiefly *redondillas*, *décimas*, and *quintillas*, and these forms are so well defined that none can be accidental.⁷⁰ It is evident, therefore, that the versification of *Ollanta* is, in the main, in imitation of Spanish prosodic arrangements. It differs, however, from that of the Spanish secular drama in the absence of *romance*-verse and in the employment of rimed couplets of 8-syllable lines, and it differs from Spanish prosody generally in that there are numerous blank lines scattered among the *redondillas*, *quintillas*, and *décimas*, that assonance sometimes replaces conso-

⁶⁸ In Tschudi's text *Tuyallai* is given twice in every line; but it is given only once in the texts of Markham, Pacheco Zagarra, and Middendorf.

⁶⁹ Cf. Hills and Morley, *Modern Spanish Lyrics*, p. lxxii.

⁷⁰ It is interesting to note that there are no *décimas* in *Ollanta* after the second scene of the first act. It is difficult to write *décimas*, and apparently the author ceased trying to do so.

nantal rime in these strophes, and that a broken line at the end of a speech is usually not completed in the following speech.

In order to throw light on the versification of *Ollanta*, it is necessary first to compare it with that of other dramatic works in the Quechua language. . . . Dr. E. W. Middendorf, in his *Dramatische und lyrische Dichtungen der Keshua-Sprache* (Leipzig, 1891), gives texts of two religious dramas composed in the Quechua language, *El hijo pródigo* and *Usca Paucar*.⁷¹ The full title of the first is *Auto sacramental del Hijo Pródigo, del insigne Poeta D. Juan de Espinoza-Medrano, de los Monteros, Arcediano del Insigne Cabildo de la Gran ciudad del Cuzco*. Middendorf states that this "is the oldest of the Quechua dramatic poems still extant."⁷² The author, a native of Cuzco, was professor of theology and belles-lettres in the Seminary of San Antonio and dean of the cathedral of Cuzco. He was also called Dr. Lunarejo, on account of a large birthmark. He wrote several works in Spanish, including the *Apologético en favor de D. Luis de Góngora*, dedicated to the Duque de Olivares (1587-1645).⁷³ *El hijo pródigo* seems, therefore, to have been written in the fifth decade of the seventeenth century, and both the language and hand-writing point to that period. Middendorf copied the manuscript formerly owned by Dr. Mariano Macedo, but now in the possession of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin. *El hijo pródigo* is one of many religious dramas composed in the indigenous languages of America to teach scriptural lessons to the Indians. The characters are chiefly allegorical, and there is more poetic imagery and a greater wealth of poetic diction than in *Ollanta* or *Usca Paucar*. But the *gracioso*, Body, indulges occasionally in coarse jests.

⁷¹ In the Preface, Middendorf says that there is another dramatic poem that he has not seen, *La muerte de Atahualpa*, which is a translation or adaptation of an uninteresting Spanish tragedy in five acts. Markham has also a MS. copy of a play by Juan de Espinosa Medrano, entitled *El pobre más rico*. The MS. was given him by Julián Ochoa, then rector of the University of Cuzco, in April, 1853. Markham kindly copied and sent a page of the play to the writer of this article. At the head of the page he writes: "Written by Dr. Lunarejo, a Quichua scholar of the 18th century," but he is mistaken as to the date (see below). The lines he sent are octosyllabic, with irregular rime.

⁷² Introduction, page 3.

⁷³ Middendorf says that this work appeared at Cuzco in 1662. An edition was published in Lima in 1694.

The following is a synopsis of the play:

Act I. A younger son, Christian, demands his share of the paternal estate, and leaves his Father and his home in order to see the world and know good and evil. He sets out accompanied by Body and Youth. They are tempted by World and his servants, Whirlwind and Foam, who bring them to Dame Flesh and her handmaidens, Miss Venal and Miss Rainbow. Christian and Body fall in love with Dame Flesh: the latter's love is physical, while Christian's is spiritual. Lads and maidens dance and sing. God's Word, an emissary from the Father, strives to save Christian, but is repulsed.

Act II. They gamble to the accompaniment of song. Christian loses all, even to Fear of God and Health, and Youth deserts him. All turn against him and Body, and drive them away in nakedness and poverty. God's Word comes again and pleads with Christian to return to his Father. A swine-herd demands food and pay of Fire-Tooth (the Devil), and refuses longer to drive his swine. He is cast out, and the starving Christian takes his place.

Act III. Enter Body who has been tossed in a blanket and otherwise ill treated by the retainers of Dame Flesh. In their hunger, Christian and Body eat clay. Again God's word urges Christian to return to his Father, and again Body resists. At last, Christian, with the aid of God's Word, binds Body on a cross, and all return to the father, who receives Christian with rejoicing and orders that the fatted swine (!) be killed.

The language of the play is characterized by a considerable number of words that are now obsolete in the spoken language (the proportion of obsolete words is larger than in *Ollanta* or *Usca Paucar*), and the orthography hesitates between the phonology of old Quechua and that of a later period. It has less than a half dozen words of Spanish origin (cf. *mesa*, *pintar*, *sollozar* (?), *vino*), if we except religious terms (cf. *ánima*, *Cristiano*, *Cristo*, *Dios*, *gracia*, *Jesús*, *Jueves Santo*). These words, perhaps a dozen in number, could scarcely be avoided in a religious drama written by a Roman Catholic priest.

The play is in 8-syllable lines, as a rule, but occasional lines are too long or too short by one or more syllables: e. g.,—9 syllables (20,⁷⁴ 250, 257); 10 syllables (346); 7 syllables (409); 6 syllables (167, 168, 241); 5 syllables (263, 214). Occasional broken lines occur at the beginning (106, 214), in the middle (53, 62), and at

⁷⁴ The number is that of the line in Middendorf's edition.

the end (29, 123, 154) of a speech. Such lines at the end of a speech are usually not completed in the following speech, but in a few cases they are so completed (78 f., 233 f.) There are more lines of irregular length and more broken lines than in the later dramas, *Usca Paucar* and *Ollanta*. There are some small groups of 6-syllable lines (663-666, 960-962). The alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables is generally no more regular than in Spanish octosyllabic verse. In the song, verses 500-515, the lines are of 5 or 6 syllables + 5 or 6 syllables, with six *pies quebrados* of 5 or 6 syllables each, and the rhythmic movement is ternary, so that the verse closely resembles the Old Spanish *arte mayor*.⁷⁵ The rime throughout is assonance in alternate lines, but with not infrequent interposition of two or more blank lines, especially at the beginning of a scene and in rapid dialogue. In the song, verses 500-515, every line is assonated (á-a). Assonance occurs as follows: á-a, 753 lines; á-i, 404; í-i, 72; á-u, 9; ú-a, 8; á-a (every line), 16; none, or rare, 194;—total, 1456.

The second play in Middendorf's work is *Usca Paucar*, which is dedicated to our lady of Copacabana. The church of Copacabana stands on the rocky peninsula of the same name on the south side of Lake Titicaca. Before the advent of the Christians, Copacabana was a sanctuary, and the early missionaries built a Christian chapel there, as was their custom, for they endeavored to turn to account local traditions and religious usages whenever possible. The chapel was taken over by the Augustinians, who brought to it from Spain an old painting of the Virgin Mary, and the religious drama, *Usca Paucar*, is avowedly an exhortation to worship the Virgin. The author of the play is unknown. Middendorf's text is a copy of a manuscript in the possession of Dr. Leonardo Villar of Lima. Markham has also a manuscript copy,⁷⁶ and it is said that there are several copies extant in Cuzco.

The language and the versification indicate that the play is of

⁷⁵ Cf. Hills and Morley's *Modern Spanish Lyrics*, p. lxxv f.

⁷⁶ Markham's copy was given him by the Sub-Prefect of Paucartambo, in June, 1853. The first twelve lines, of which the writer of this article has a copy, differ considerably from the first lines of Middendorf's edition. Of the first eight lines in Markham's text, only four are found in Middendorf's; while two in Middendorf's text are lacking in Markham's. The rime-scheme of these lines is more regular in Markham's text.

more recent origin than *El hijo pródigo*, and that it and *Ollanta* were probably composed at about the same time,—that is, toward the middle of the eighteenth century. The play is poorly constructed and has little poetical merit. At the beginning it seems reminiscent of the Faust legend, but later on all resemblance disappears. As in *Ollanta*, the lovers do not meet alone on the stage.

The following is a synopsis of the play:

Act I. Usca ('Beggar') Paucar, of Inca blood but in poverty, bewails his fate. Quespillo (the *gracioso*) tries to cheer him but in vain. Yuncanina (Lucifer: in a green costume, over which he wears a black cloak, star-spangled⁷⁷) and four attendant spirits speak of their fall from heaven, and make plans to ensnare men. Their one fear is that mankind may be rescued by the Virgin Mary.

Act II. Usca Paucar and Quespillo, hungry and weary, lie down to sleep. The former is awakened by Yuncanina, who offers wealth and happiness if he will obey him and abjure allegiance to the Virgin Mary, throw away his rosary and never-more hear mass. The wretched Usca Paucar signs with his blood a written promise. At Usca Paucar's bidding, Quespillo smites a rock and much gold falls to the ground. An aged man, Choque Apu, urges his daughter, Ccoritica, to take a husband, but she holds men in scorn (a *Yarahui* is sung). Choque Apu receives Usca Paucar cordially but Ccoritica repulses him. Usca Paucar bewails his lot, but Yuncanina enters and promises him success in love (Song).

Act III. Yuncanina makes Ccoritica to fall in love with Usca Paucar, whom he presents, as his brother, to Choque Apu, and for whom he asks and obtains Ccoritica's hand (Dove song). When they are happily married, Yuncanina and the four spirits plan to separate them lest Ccoritica lead her husband to worship the Virgin Mary. Quespillo overhears them, and as they do not know that men are near, they appear as devils and are recognized as such by Quespillo, who tells Usca Paucar what he has seen and heard. They flee. Ccoritica and maidens appear, and they also flee. The devils pursue (there is much horse-play here). When the devils overtake first the men and then the women, both groups escape by calling on Jesus and the Virgin Mary. A procession of children passes by. With them walks an angel who bears aloft a banner with an image of the Virgin Mary. Usca Paucar and Quespillo fall on their knees before the image and pray for help. Ccoritica, with a cross in her hand, joins her husband. Yuncanina, in fury, casts the writing at Usca Paucar's feet and departs. The angel steps forward and urges all to worship the Virgin Mary.

⁷⁷ For illustrations of the devil in a black star-spangled cloak, see Cole's edition of the Mexican play, *Los pastores*.

There are in *Usca Paucar* few words of Spanish origin (cf. *asno*; *misi*, 'cat'), except such sacerdotal terms as *Adán*, *casar*, *cruz*, *Dios*, *Jesús*, *María*, *misa*, *rezar*, *rosario*, *Virgen*.

Like *El hijo pródigo* and *Ollanta*, *Usca Paucar* is in 8-syllable lines as a rule, with occasional lines too long or too short by one or more syllables: e. g.,—9 syllables (159,⁷⁸ 262, 280); 10 syllables (233); 7 syllables (236); 6 syllables (180, 181). The lyrical passage, verses 1534–1557, and verses 1627–1641, have alternating 8- and 5-syllable lines; and the lyrical monologue, verses 1366–1393, has regular 6-syllable lines. There are occasional broken lines at the beginning (776, 918) and at the end (29, 110, 701) of speeches. The latter are usually not completed in the following speech, but in a few cases are so completed (182 f., 1400 f.). There are fewer irregular lines and fewer broken lines than in *El hijo pródigo*, but about as many as in *Ollanta*.

As in *Ollanta*, the rime is regularly that of the Spanish *redondilla* (*a b b a*), with occasional rimed couplets (19–36, 1339–1365), *quintillas* (359–363, 450–454) and *décimas* (98–107, 777–786). In some *redondillas*, *quintillas* and *décimas* assonance replaces consonantal rime wholly or in part. Two or three consecutive blank lines (139–140) occur occasionally. In the lyrical passage with alternating lines of 8- and 5-syllables (1534–1557), there is no rime, and in the lyrical passage with 6-syllable lines (1366–1393), the rime is regularly *a b a b*, *c d c d*, etc. Assonance recurring regularly in alternate lines is not found, unless it be in verses 1717–1722. As a whole, the verses of *Usca Paucar* are remarkably similar to those of *Ollanta*.

It is interesting to compare the versification of these Quechua dramas with that of an old Easter play in the Spanish language found in New Mexico and Texas, and published by M. R. Cole under the title *Los Pastores* (Boston, 1907). Two versions are given which are similar in general outline but differ greatly in detail. One was secured at Rio Grande City, Texas, in 1891, by Captain John G. Bourke from an old cobbler. The other version is a copy, made by Miss Honora De Busk, of an old manuscript that she found in the possession of an aged Mexican at San Rafael, New Mexico, about twelve years ago. Most of the text was arranged as prose,

⁷⁸ The number is that of the line in Middendorf's edition.

and was put back into metrical form by Mr. Cole. In spite of ill treatment by copyists, the versification of the New-Mexican version is better preserved than that of the Texas version, and I have therefore selected the former for comparison with the Quechua texts.

The New-Mexican play is in 8-syllable lines, as a rule, but with many lines irregular in length. There are a considerable number of broken lines. Those occurring at the end of one speech are sometimes not completed in the following speech (212,⁷⁹ 225). There are some groups of 6-syllable lines, and one song (212) is written in lines of 7 + 5 syllables with ternary movement.⁸⁰ The rime used in the play is chiefly assonance in alternate lines, with occasional rimed couplets, *redondillas*, *quintillas* and *décimas*. In the *laissez* of assonated lines, two or more consecutive blank lines occur not infrequently, as in *El hijo pródigo*. In some *redondillas* and *quintillas*, assonance replaces consonantal rime wholly or in part,⁸¹ as in *Ollanta* and *Usca Paucar*. As in *Usca Paucar*, and to a less degree in *Ollanta*, series of rimed couplets occur. Thus, on pages 228 and 229, there are 53 rimed couplets (106 lines).

The defective versification of the plays we have examined may be due to one or more of several causes. The texts may have been altered by copyists. In some of the rapid dialogues, at least, it seems probable that during rehearsals words and phrases were freely added or cut out, and if this be so, it explains in part the difference in texts. The authors may have had little skill in writing verses. Parts of the plays almost certainly give evidence of crude workmanship, and this is not surprising since few Spanish priests in the colonies were true poets, and yet many undertook to compose or adapt *autos sacramentales* in both the Spanish and the Indian lan-

⁷⁹ The numbers are those of the pages in Cole's edition. The writer of this article has also in his possession a manuscript copy of the copy made by Miss De Busk.

⁸⁰ Note similar songs in *El hijo pródigo* and *Ollanta*.

⁸¹ Ella (allá ?) me voy a bestir,
y a seguir la luz que veo,
porque ciertamente creo
que esta noche es de festin (page 222).

No sabemos en certesa
en que tiempo, ni en que día,
se cumplen las profecias
de aquellos grandes profectas (page 218).

guages.⁸² The result may have been effective in teaching the Christian doctrine to natives, but it had little poetic value.

In the older Spanish *autos sacramentales* the commonest strophic arrangement was the *quintilla*, which yielded little by little to the *romance*-verse, the *redondilla*, and lastly the *décima*, until it came to hold third place (cf. Calderon's *autos*). In the colonial *autos* of the seventeenth and eighteenth century that we possess, the *quintilla* has third place in point of numbers as in Spain during the same period, and this is also true of the three Quechua plays that we have examined. The *auto sacramental*, as the name implies, is in one act, and the Mexican *Los pastores* is thus arranged. But, curiously, both *El hijo pródigo* and *Usca Paucar* are divided into three acts. In both plays the division into acts seems forced, as it does not conform to a logical division into parts. It seems probable that these plays were divided into acts by analogy with the secular drama, either by the authors or by copyists. In length they exceed the old Spanish *autos*; but they do not exceed those of Lope and Calderon, nor the Mexican *Los pastores*. Now in the number of lines, in the illogical division into acts,⁸³ and in the versification, *Ollanta* closely resembles the religious dramas, *El hijo pródigo* and *Usca Paucar*. Moreover, in the number of lines, in the versification, and in the general lack of poetic worth, the three resemble the Mexican *Los pastores*. All seem to be the product of the crude workmanship of Spanish missionaries or their disciples. And, although *Ollanta* is presumably a secular play, it also teaches an important element of the Christian doctrine: "Love your enemies."

Let us return to those peculiarities of the versification of *Ollanta* and *Usca Paucar* that are not common to the Spanish drama. The absence of *romance*-verse is unimportant. In some secular plays the *romance*-verse plays a minor part,⁸⁴ and in the older *autos sa-*

⁸² In the Texas version of *Los pastores*, Mr. Cole found passages taken bodily from older Spanish *autos*; but, on the other hand, words of Mexican origin are not infrequent (cf. *tamales*, as a rime-word, in a *redondilla* in the New-Mexican version).

⁸³ Although in Pacheco Zegarra's edition of *Ollanta* there is no division into acts, both the Pedro Zegarra text (cf. page cxxiv of Pacheco Zegarra's edition) and the Tschudi text are so divided, as well as the Markham text. Pacheco Zegarra omitted the division into acts, gave consecutive numbers to scenes throughout, and furthermore made subdivisions that he entitled "dialogues."

⁸⁴ In the dramas of Tirso de Molina only about one-fourth of the lines are

cramentales it was not used at all. There are fewer rimed couplets of octosyllabic lines in *Ollanta* and *Usca Paucar* than in *Los pastores*. In fact many of the rimed couplets in these plays may well be fragments of *redondillas*, *quintillas*, or *décimas*, and some evidently are so. Rimed couplets, however, were used in Spain in religious compositions. In the *Arte poética española*, by Juan Díaz Rengifo (edition of 1724), Cap. XXII, page 29, the author says: "Esta poesía de versos Pareados, ó Parejas, en verso de Redondilla mayor, tiene su consonancia de dos en dos versos." He cites the following lines from Ledesma, *Conceptos Espirituales á las lágrimas que Christo N. Señor vertió en la Cruz, segunda parte*:

Las lágrimas de muger
Por mil cosas pueden ser:
Mas lágrimas de varon
O son zelos, o aficion.

And in both religious and secular dramas rimed couplets in mingled verses of 11 and 7 syllables were not rare.⁸⁵ The blank lines scattered among the *redondillas*, *quintillas*, and *décimas*, often seem to be fragments also of broken strophes. Thus, in *Ollanta*, in verses 1398-1430, there is a series of nine *redondillas* three of which lack one line each. And, in verses 112-245, there are at least nine *décimas* three of which also lack one line each. These missing lines may cause the appearance of stray blank lines and rimed couplets. The use of assonance in the rimed strophes instead of consonantal rime is indefensible and points to lack of skill in writing verses; but we have seen that this also occurs in *Los pastores*. The occurrence of broken lines in all the plays we have examined may indicate corruption of the texts, or, possibly, they may be in imitation of the 4-syllable line not seldom interposed among 8-syllable lines in the older religious dramatic compositions.⁸⁶

The three Quechua plays that we have examined are written in Spanish verse-forms. What, then, was the prosody,—if there was in *romance*-verse, and the rest are in *redondillas*, *quintillas*, etc. Cf. S. G. Morley, *El uso de las combinaciones métricas en las comedias de Tirso de Molina*, *Bulletin hispanique*, XVI, p. 177 f.

⁸⁵ Cf. Calderón, *La primer flor del Carmelo*, Sc. 12 f.; *No hay burlas con el amor*, II, 12 f.; Moreto, *La gran casa de Austria y divina Margarita*, Sc. 1.

⁸⁶ Cf. *Autos sacramentales* (in *Biblioteca de autores españoles*), pp. 126, 133, 143.

such,—of the ancient indigenous poetry of Peru? Garcilaso says:⁸⁷

“ . . . supieron hazer versos cortos, y largos con medida de silabas: En ellos ponian sus cantares amorosos con tonadas diferentes, como se ha dicho. Tambien componian en verso las hazañas de sus Reyes, y de otros famosos Incas, y Curacas principales, y los enseñauan a sus descendientes por tradicion, para que se acordassen de los buenos hechos de sus passados, y los imitassen; los versos eran pocos porque la memoria los guardasse, empero muy compendiosos como cifras. No vsaron de consonante en los versos, todos eran sueltos. Por la mayor parte semejauan a la natural composura Española, que llaman redondillas.”

And he quotes from memory this song:

| | |
|--------------|-------------|
| Caylla llapi | A1 cantico |
| Puñunqui | Dormirás; |
| Chauptuta | Media noche |
| Samusac | Yo vendré. |

In the same chapter, he adds:

“ En los papeles del padre Blas Valera hallé otros versos, que el llama spondaicos, todos son de a quatro silabas . . . Escriuelos en Yndio y en latin . . . Dizen que vn Inca poeta, y astrologo hizo, y dixo los versos . . . La fabula, y los versos dize el Padre Blas Valera, que halló en los ñudos y cuentas de vnos anales antiguos, que estauan en hilos de diuersas colores, y que la tradicion de los versos, y de la fabula se la dixerón los Yndios contadores, que tenían cargo de los ñudos y cuentas historiales, y que admirado de que los Amautas huuiessen alcançado tanto, escriuió los versos, y los tomó de memoria para dar cuenta dellos.”

| | | |
|---------------|----------------|---------------------------------|
| “ Sumac Ñusta | Pulchra Nimpha | Hermosa donzella |
| Torallayquim | Frater tuus | Aquese tu hermano ⁸⁸ |
| Puyñuy quita | Vnam tuam | El tu cantarillo |
| Paquir cayan | Nunc infringit | Lo esta quebrantando, |
| Hina mantara | Cuius ictus | Y de aquesta causa |
| Cunufunun | Tonat fulget | Truena y relampaguea |
| Ylla pantac | Fulminatque | Tambien cayen rayos. |
| Camri Ñusta | Sed tu Ninpha | Tu real donzella |
| vnuy quita | Tuam limpham | Tus muy lindas aguas |
| Para munqui | Fundens pluis | Nos darás llouiendo |
| May ñimpiri | Interdumque | Tambien a las vezes |
| Chichi munqui | Grandinem, seu | Granizar nos has |

⁸⁷ *Op. cit.*, II, 27.

| | | |
|---------------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| Riti munqui | Niuem mittis | Neuaras assi mesmo. |
| Pacha rurac | Mundi factor | El hazedor del mundo |
| Pacha camac | Pacha camac, | El Dios que le anima |
| Vira cocha | Vira cocha | El Gran Vira cocha |
| Cay hinapac | Ad hoc munus | Para aqueste oficio |
| Churasunqui | Te sufficit | Ya te colocaron |
| Camasunqui. ⁸⁹ | Ac praefecit. | Y te dieron alma." |

Now, it will be observed that these verses bear no resemblance whatever to the Spanish *redondilla* in the modern meaning of the word. They have no rime except the occasional repetition of a suffix. Garcilaso's statement that the old Quechua verses did not have rime, and that they resembled the Spanish *redondilla*, seems, therefore, a contradiction in terms; but an examination of old works on Spanish prosody throws light on the problem. Rengifo⁹⁰ uses the term *verso de redondilla* to denote any line of 8 or fewer syllables. Thus:

"El verso de Redondilla mayor se compone de ocho syllabas" (page 15); "versos Pareados, ò Parejas, en verso de Redondilla mayor" (page 29); "tercetos con verso de Redondilla mayor" (page 30); "De la Copla Redondilla, ò Quintilla, . . . se llama Redondilla, porque se canta en los corros donde baylan . . . Compònense de cinco versos" (page 32); "La Redondilla de seys versos que podrán llamarse Sextillas del número de los versos (como la Quarteta y Quintilla)" (page 33); "No hay cosa mas facil, que hazer un Romance, ni cosa mas dificultosa, si ha de ser qual conviene. Lo que causa la facilidad es la composicion del Metro, que todo es de una Redondilla multiplicada" (page 59); "Todos estos generos de Redondillas, ora Simples, ora Dobladadas, ò Mistas, ora Dezimas, son muy à propòsito para dezir en ellas agudos conceptos, y para componer Comedias, Loas, y Dialogos" (page 39).

And Sarmiento⁹¹ says of *redondillos*:

⁸⁸ Garcilaso says that he made the Spanish translation directly from the Quechua.

⁸⁹ According to Middendorf (*Ollanta Drama*, p. 57 f.), all the lines should be written as one word, except the 1st, 8th, 14th, 15th and 17th. He also corrects 'hinamantara' to 'hinamantas.'

⁹⁰ Cf. *op. cit.*

⁹¹ *Obras posthumas del Rmo P. M. Fr. Martin Sarmiento Benedictino, Memorias para la historia de la poesia y poetas españoles, tomo I, Madrid, 1775* (but apparently written about 1745).

"Procuraré decir algo de las quatro principales diferencias de metros, que son Redondillos, Franceses ó Alexandrinos, de Arte mayor, y Hendecasylabos ó de Sonetos" (§ 395); "En esta Octava significa Redondillo todo genero de verso, ó pie, que no tiene mas de ocho syllabas; y así el verso communísimo de ocho syllabas es Redondillo mayor, y menor el de seis" (§ 396); "Los Redondillos, así mayores como menores, son la basa de todos los metros castellanos . . . con particularidad el de ocho syllabas es el mas famoso, mas antiguo, mas natural, y mas comun" (§ 398); "Parece claro . . . que no hay redondillo, sea de ocho syllabas, de siete, de seis, de cinco, ó de quatro . . . que no tenga su origen visible en nuestros Refranes Castellanos" (§ 415).

Note that Sarmiento generally uses *verso redondillo* instead of *verso de redondilla*.

It is clear that in the time of Garcilaso the term *verso de redondilla* merely meant any line of 8 or fewer syllables. The quatrain that is now known as *redondilla* Rengifo calls "*quarteta*." When, therefore, Garcilaso speaks of rimeless verses that resemble the Spanish *redondilla*, he means short verses as distinguished from those used in the old Alexandrine, the *Arte mayor*, and the Italian hendecasyllable.

In 1908 Dr. Richard Pietschmann, librarian of the University of Göttingen, discovered in the Royal Library of Copenhagen a manuscript copy of an old Peruvian chronicle entitled *El primer nueva coromica y buen gobierno, por Felipe Huaman Poma de Ayala*, which apparently dates from 1613. The author, according to his own statement, was a descendant of the Incas. The work has valuable pen and ink drawings, and in this respect it is unique. It is written in incorrect Spanish intermixed with Quechua words. Dr. Pietschmann is preparing this work for publication, and in the meantime he has published two articles on the subject: *Nueva Coronica y Buen Gobierno des Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, eine peruanische Bilderhandschrift* (in *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Heft 6*, Berlin, 1908), and (in English) *Some Account of the Illustrated Chronicle by the Peruvian Indian, D. Felipe Huaman Poma de Ayala* (in *Proceedings of the XVIII. International Congress of Americanists*, page 510 f.).

In these articles Dr. Pietschmann gives nine lyrics in the Quechua

language that he found in the chronicle. He has arranged them in verse-lines, but "in the original the songs are written without separation of words or division into lines."⁹² As arranged by Dr. Pietschmann, the lines are irregular in length, except in two of the lyrics: in one of these there are two lines of 12 syllables followed by a cry or call; in the other there are alternate lines of 7 and 9 syllables.⁹³ In nearly all the lyrics regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables is much more marked than in *Ollanta*. The age of these lyrics is not known. Two contain Spanish words: *Dios*, *ciño* (= señor), *rosa*. Dr. Pietschmann considers that the two following show little or no Spanish influence:

yaya condor apauay
tura guaman pusauay
mamallayman uillapuuay
nam pisca punchau
mana micosca
mana upyasca
yaya cachapuric
quilcaapac chasquipuric
cimillayta soncollayta apapullauay
yayallayman mamallayman uillapullauay.⁹⁴

And:

Aucap umanuan upyason,
quironta ualcarisun,
tullunuan pincullusun,

⁹² Quoted from a letter by Dr. Pietschmann to the writer of this article. In this letter Dr. Pietschmann kindly gave the remaining lines of the song entitled *haray harawi*.

⁹³ mana tarushca richo
maquillayquip uaucuycaconqui
mana luycho amicho
cincallayquip uaucuycaconqui
ua yayay turilla
ua yayay turilla.

⁹⁴ "Father Condor, take me away; Brother Falcon, bring me away; announce me to my dear mother. For five days already I have not eaten nor drunk a drop. Father Bringer-of-News, Bearer-of-a-Message-stick, Courier, please take away my mouth, my heart. Please announce me to my dear father and my dear mother." These are supposed to be the words of a woman caught in adultery, and bound by her hair to a lofty crag where she is left to die.

caranpi tinyacusun,
taquecusun.⁹⁵

In several of the lyrics, as the lines have been arranged by Dr. Pietschmann, there is rime due to repetition of words or suffixes; but the rime is incidental. There is nowhere any definite rime-scheme⁹⁶ corresponding to the Spanish *quintilla*, *redondilla*, *rimed couplets*, *romance-verse*, etc.

Dr. Rodolfo Lenz,⁹⁷ professor in the Instituto Pedagógico de Santiago de Chile, in a recent letter to the writer of this article, says: "Rimed verses with regular syllable counting can not be Indian. Real aboriginal poetry of America has quite a different character. A certain rhythm may exist." He adds: "There is not the least doubt for me that all the Quechua poetry gathered and published up to date is spurious, made by *criollos* according to Spanish models. I have not yet seen one line of Quechua that is pure Indian literature. The only book in which there are perhaps some pieces of Quechua literature that have undergone only little Spanish influence is *Tarmapap Pacha-Huaraynin. Azucenas Quechuas. Por unos Parias*. Tarma, 1905.⁹⁸ There are some prose fables in it that, except the *moraleja*, seem to be of Indian origin. On page 92 there is a *canción de despedida* that runs as follows:

Uchucachi manatsh cananka rikashaichu!
Uchucachi manatsh cananka malishiaychu!
Uchucachi manatsh micuinita mishquichinichu!

⁹⁵ "The traitor's skull, we shall drink out of it; his teeth we shall wear as a necklace; from his bones we shall make flutes to play on; on his skin we shall beat the drum; we shall perform our dance." This ferocious song is evidently a threat to traitors.

⁹⁶ Except perhaps in the lyric given in a preceding footnote. This probably shows Spanish influence.

⁹⁷ Author of *Chilenische Studien*, Marburg, 1892-1893; *Cantos araucanos en Moluche i Pehuenche chileno con Introducción sobre la poesía araucana*, in *Anales de la Universidad de Chile*, tomo XCVII, Santiago de Chile, 1897; *Diccionario etimológico de las voces chilenas derivadas de lenguas indígenas americanas*, Santiago de Chile, 1905-1910; *et al.*

⁹⁸ There is a copy of this work in the library of The Hispanic Society, New York City.

Uchucachi mircapatchi yarparacushunqui!
 Uchucachi, ayhualá! ayhualarac!!⁹⁹

There is only a rime caused by two equal verbal forms, and no regular number of syllables."

In his *Dramatische und lyrische Dichtungen der Keshua-Sprache*, Middendorf gives three collections of lyrics in the Quechua language. The first consists of *Romances de la pasión de Nuestro Señor Jesu Cristo*, which he found in an old volume entitled *Directorio espiritual en la lengua Española y quichua, general del Inca, compuesto por el Padre Pablo de Prado*, Lima, 1660. These Christian "romances" are nine in number. Seven are in octosyllabic verses: five with assonance in alternate lines, one in redondillas, and one in crude assonating redondillas. One "romance" is in 5-syllable lines, arranged in quatrains. In 33 quatrains, out of 63, two lines have consonantal rime, due chiefly to the repetition of verbal suffixes. Curiously, every quatrain ends in -i. And one "romance" is in stanzas of six lines of 6 syllables and one line of 9 syllables, with traces of crude assonance. In most of these "romances," there are many lines irregular in length.

The second collection consists of sacred songs, some of which Middendorf collected here and there in his travels, and some he found in a volume entitled *Antología sagrada en Español, Quichua y Aymarà, por el cura C. F. B.*, Oruro, 1889. The Quechua songs are in the present-day speech of Upper Peru, though some may be old. They are eleven in number. Eight are in octosyllabic verses: five in quatrains with consonantal rime of the second and fourth lines, one in redondillas, one in stanzas of six lines with the rime-scheme—a—a b b, and one in quatrains with rime of the second and fourth lines or with all lines blank. Two songs are in 6-syllable lines, in quatrains, and, as a rule, with consonantal rime of the second and fourth lines,¹⁰⁰ and one is in alternating lines of 6 and

⁹⁹ Uchucachi (name of a dog), ya no volveré á verte!
 Uchucachi, ya no te probaré!
 Uchucachi, no condimentarás mi comida!
 Uchucachi, te extrañará mi hambre!
 Uchucachi, adiós, adiós para siempre!!
 (Translation of the author.)

¹⁰⁰ The eleventh song illustrates a peculiarity of Spanish-Quechua prosody that is often to be observed. Thus, consonantal rime sometimes appears in such

5 syllables, mostly blank. Most of the lyrics in these two collections are good examples of "idioma indígena y arte poético europeo."¹⁰¹ They contain almost no words of Spanish origin, except some sacerdotal terms, but the versification shows Spanish influence.

The third collection of lyrics in the volume consists, according to Middendorf's classification, of *yarahuis*,¹⁰² longer poems, and elegies. The lyrics in this collection are fifty-two in number. Of these, thirty-six have no rime;¹⁰³ nine have irregular or occasional rime, three are arranged in quatrains with consonantal rime of the second and fourth lines, two have complicated rime-schemes,¹⁰⁴ one has assonance in alternate lines, and one has assonated *redondillas*. Twenty lyrics are in 8-syllable lines, one has alternate lines of 8 or 9 and 5 syllables (with ternary movement), one has two lines of 8 to 10 syllables followed by one of 5 syllables, six have 6-syllable lines, one has lines of 5 or 6 syllables, ten have 5-syllable lines (with ternary movement), one has alternating 5- and 3-syllable lines, one has two lines of 5 syllables followed by one of 3 syllables, two have alternating lines of 5 + 5 and 3 syllables, and in nine the lines are quite irregular in length. In the verses with counted syllables, many lines are too long or too short. In some of the shorter unrimed *yarahuis* the alternation of stressed and uncrude forms as: *-aspa*, *-ispa*; *-achun*, *-uchun*; etc. This is not rare in *Ollanta* and *Usca Paucar*.

¹⁰¹ Francisco Pimentel (*Historia crítica de la poesía en México*,—Mex., 1892,—p. 124) says: "... de la poesía indo-hispana diremos que se compuso de dos elementos: generalmente un idioma indígena y arte poético europeo."

¹⁰² Or *yaravi*. Middendorf says (p. 220): "The *yarahui* was the oldest form of Peruvian poetry. The word is derived from the verb *yarahuiy* or '*harahuiy*, 'to tell or invent tales,' and those members of the learned society of the Amautas to whom was entrusted the cultivation of poetic art, that is, the composition of poems and their preservation in memory by the aid of the *quipus*, were called '*harahuecs*. Originally all poems, even those of historic content, were called *yarahuis*. Now only love-songs are known by this name." This last fact seems due to the disappearance of all old *yarahuis* except short love-songs.

¹⁰³ One of these without rime was written in 1834 and is of historic content. The lines are irregular in length.

¹⁰⁴ One, no. 41, is a long modern poem of 200 lines, in stanzas with the rime-scheme a b b c a d d c. The lines are octosyllabic.

stressed syllables is noticeably regular.¹⁰⁵ There are few words of Spanish origin,¹⁰⁶ but the ideas are sometimes Spanish or European.

In the *Antología ecuatoriana, Cantares del pueblo ecuatoriano, compilación formada por Juan León Mera* (Quito, 1892), there are four "popular" lyrics in the Quechua dialect of Ecuador. Two, in octosyllabic lines, are arranged in quatrains, with consonantal rime or assonance in the second and fourth lines; one is in 5-syllable lines, with irregular á-i assonance and occasional consonantal rime; and one has, in each stanza, four lines of 8 syllables, two of 4 syllables, and one of 8, with the rime-scheme—a—a c c c. The volume contains also two Quechua lyrics by Dr. Luis Cordero. These are in octosyllabics, with assonance in alternate lines (á-a in one and ú-a in the other). The work contains also some short lyrics with alternate lines of Spanish and Quechua or with Spanish and Quechua words mingled irregularly. Several prosodic arrangements common to Spanish verses appear in these lyrics. In one song a Spanish word rimes with a Quechua word.¹⁰⁷

Tschudi¹⁰⁸ quotes eight lines from a Quechua song, said to be

¹⁰⁵ Thus, in no. 10:

Pucu-pucuc quesampichus
mamallay-cca huachahuarccan,
cunan hina musphanaypac
llapa runac muchuchisccan,
mana picpa chuyacunan
tampi-tampi purinaypac . . .

Middendorf says that this song is very popular. One wonders whether some of the lyrics in this collection should be arranged in lines at all. There are certainly some of the unrimed that could be arranged equally well in lines of almost any length.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. *Dios, paloma, ni—ni*.

¹⁰⁷ León Mera says (*Op. cit.*, page vi): "Va desapareciendo la manera híbrida usada antiguamente por nuestro pueblo, que alternaba en sus cuartetas versos españoles y quechuas." He cites the following as an example of such verses:

Cuando estuve enamorado,
Shunguhuan huacarcanimi;
Ahora que te he olvidado,
Shunguhuan asicunimi.

The Quechua words mean:

Con el corazón lloraba.
Con el corazón me río.

Note that all (both Quechua and Spanish) lines are octosyllabic.

¹⁰⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 201-202.

"popular," which a Herr von Bock found in Bolivia. They are in quatrains of octosyllabics, with consonantal rime of the second and fourth lines of each quatrain. Sir Clements R. Markham, in a letter¹⁰⁹ to the writer of this article, says: "I have twenty songs which were in the same manuscript from which I copied *Ollantay* at Laris, but they are not ancient"; and he adds: "My impression is that in the earliest songs rhyme was not used, or was merely accidental: certainly rhymes occur occasionally, but no trouble appears to have been taken to make them continuous."

The distinguished Peruvian musician, Don Daniel Alomía Robles, has recently traveled extensively among the Indians of Upper Peru and has made a collection of their songs with musical notation. At a meeting held in Lima, February 21, 1910, several musicians read articles and played and sang the songs collected by Señor Alomía Robles.¹¹⁰ Don Alberto Villalba Muñoz, in his address, stated that the primitive musical scale of the Indians of the Sierra has but five notes, and said further: "Las melodías antiguas son generalmente de ritmo libre. El compás es un regulador moderno." Don Felipe Barrera y Laos said, in part: "En la época colonial, la música indígena sufre notablemente la influencia española . . . La religión católica, impuesta á los vencidos, impresionó profundamente el alma indígena, y reflejó su influencia en el arte; se compusieron canciones religiosas y pastoriles, que se bailaban en la pascua de navidad, muy semejantes á los villancicos españoles."¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Dated July 10, 1913.

¹¹⁰ An account of the session is given in a pamphlet entitled *Conferencia literario-musical dada en el salón de actuaciones ante S. E. el presidente de la República el 21 de febrero de 1910*, Lima, 1910. In a letter to *La Prensa* of Buenos Aires, dated May 3, 1913, Señor Alomía Robles says that he has collected "143 aires ó melodías, desarrolladas estrictamente dentro de la gama incaica con su letra en quechua . . . Á estos aires debo agregar los 167 que yo he clasificado de coloniales por desarrollarse en la gama moderna."

¹¹¹ Garcilaso says: "Quando yo sali del Peru, que fue el año de mil y quinientos y sesenta dexe en el Cozco cinco Yndios que tañian flautas diestrissimamente por qual quiera libro de canto de organo, que les pusiessen delante, eran de Iuan Rodriguez de Villa Lobos, vezino que fue de aquella ciudad. En estos tiempos que es ya el año de mil y seyscientos y dos me dizen que ay tantos Yndios tan diestros en musica para tañier instrumentos que donde quiera se hallan muchos." (*Op. cit.*, II, 26.) And: "Dizen me, que en estos tiempos se dan mucho los Mestizos a componer en Yndio estos versos, y otros de muchas maneras, assi a lo diuino como a lo humano." (*Op. cit.*, II, 27.)

And: "La influencia española se ha dejado sentir en los bailes indígenas, principalmente, en el de los *negritos* y los *diablos* que se bailan en la Sierra . . . La guitarra, el arpa, la bandurria, el violín, son usados con toda frecuencia en la Sierra . . . El yaraví antiguo ha dado origen á los *tristes* de nuestros días, que conservan el fondo indígena, y que son de una melancolía que armoniza con su nombre: hay en ellos elementos de música española." Through the courtesy of Don Ricardo Palma, four of the lyrics collected in the Sierra by Señor Alomía Robles were sent to the writer of this article. In these lyrics there is no rime except that caused by a rare repetition of a word or a suffix. As arranged by the collector, one is in 6-syllable lines, one in 4-syllable lines, one in lines of 6 or 7 syllables, and the last in lines of 4, 5, or 6 syllables. The second and fourth, in the nearly regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables, resemble the longer lyric given by Garcilaso.

What, then, is the prosody, if it may be called such, of aboriginal Quechua poetry? In the first place, there is no rime; but neither did Greek and Latin verses have rime. The syllables were usually not counted; but the counting of syllables is peculiar to modern Romance verse, and much poetry has been composed the world over without it. The fact is that Quechua prosody is most primitive: there may be a certain rhythm due to the alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables which may, or may not, be broken occasionally by a ternary "foot," and that is all. Quechua poetry was composed to be sung, and some of the songs have regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables throughout, which may indicate that they were sung to the accompaniment of dancing, or marching, or manual labor. In others, and especially in love-songs, the succession of stresses is less regular, and it is probably these to which Señor Villalba Muñoz refers when he speaks of "free rhythm," by which he may mean that they are sung without the definite rhythm of modern European music.* There is no trace of any aboriginal

* Miss Alice C. Fletcher, in *The Hako: A Pawnee Ceremony* (in *Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Part 2*, Washington, 1904), says of songs sung by the Pawnee Indians: "The unit of time is marked by pulsations of the voice or by drum beats, and the words are found bent by elisions or stretched by added vocables to make them conform to the musical measure" (p. 282);—thus in the song given on page 245, the words *we ra ti ka riki* ('now is he within standing') are sung: *ho-o-o! we ra ti ka riki ra*

verses in *Ollanta*. Barranca and others have held that *Ollanta* contains fragments of ancient Quechua poetry. If this be true, the "fragments" have been worked over and put into Spanish verse-forms.

III

Tschudi and Pacheco Zegarra hold that *Ollanta* was reduced to writing in the sixteenth century, after the pacification of the country; but Middendorf showed conclusively that none of the known texts could be of earlier date than the eighteenth century. Markham maintains that *Ollanta* was handed down by oral tradition till the second half of the eighteenth century, when it was reduced to writing. As we have seen, there is no record of the existence of the play before it was produced by Dr. Valdés of Tinta. No one can say positively that it was not thus handed down by word of mouth during a space of two hundred and fifty years; but, on the other hand, there is no evidence that it was. It seems scarcely conceivable that a play such as *Ollanta* should have been transmitted orally during so long a period. If it were a great national epic or an exalted religious poem, it might have been thus preserved; but *Ollanta*, at the best, is a mediocre secular drama of intrigue, somewhat incoherent and often frivolous.¹¹²

riki hi! Excellent examples of the interposition of meaningless syllables in songs are given by Professor Franz Boas in *The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians* (in *Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895*, Washington, 1897, p. 665 f. And Miss Frances Densmore, in her work on *Chippewa Music*, II (in *Bulletin 53 of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Washington, 1913), says: "The words of Chippewa songs are frequently changed to conform to the music, syllables being omitted or added, and meaningless syllables introduced" (p. 2). She also says that "the rhythm of the first measure is rarely continued throughout the song . . . The transcriptions show in many instances a change of time with almost every measure" (p. 9).

Now, if these phenomena are found in the aboriginal songs of South America, the words of a song may not indicate the number of syllables that were sung or what the syllables were.

¹¹² To illustrate the frivolous nature of much of *Ollanta*, the opening words of the first act are given:

Ollanta. Piqui-Chaqui, did you see the charming Cusi-Coyllur at her home?
Piqui-Chaqui. May the Sun-God forbid my going there. Are you not frightened at the thought that she is the king's daughter?

Ollanta. Even if she is, I shall love this tender dove. It is my desire to shelter her alone in my heart.

Piqui-Chaqui. The Devil has made you mad, or you are losing your head.

The language of the texts is that of the eighteenth century.¹¹³ If *Ollanta* was composed at this time, or if it was handed down by oral tradition during a space of more than two hundred years, in either case we should expect to find a considerable number of Hispanicisms; but there are, in fact, very few. If the play was first composed in the eighteenth century, its author evidently took pains to avoid words of Spanish origin that have crept into modern Quechua, and to do this so successfully he must have been a scholar who recognized Spanish words in Quechua dress when he saw them. It is probable that, under the conditions that have prevailed in Peru, if a Quechua drama should come down through two centuries in the mouths of the people, more Hispanicisms would creep in than would appear if the play were later written by one who consciously sought to avoid them.¹¹⁴ In this connection it is noteworthy that there are no more Hispanicisms in *El hijo pródigo* or *Usca Paucar* than in *Ollanta*, if we except the sacerdotal terms in those religious dramas.

The following Hispanicisms have been noted in *Ollanta*:

In Tschudi's text, verses 261-266, occurs a passage, of which the following is a translation:

There are girls everywhere. You are too much involved now. Some day the king will hear of your plans; he will have your head cut off, and will throw you into the fire.

Ollanta. Do not discourage me, or I shall strangle you on the spot. Do not speak to me about that again, or I will tear you to pieces.

Piqui-Chaqui. Well, drag me along like a dead dog, but do not say to me every year and day and night: "Go, Piqui-Chaqui, look for her" (Literal translation of Middendorf's version).

Would such words as these have been preserved intact for two hundred and fifty years by word of mouth!

¹¹³ Middendorf (*Ollanta Drama*, p. 109) says that the Tschudi and Markham texts are in the dialect now spoken in the neighborhood of Cuzco. Dr. Pietschmann, in a recent letter to the writer of this article, calls attention to the word *cachapuric* in the lyric beginning *yaya condor* (found in Huaman Poma's chronicle). The word has there the old meaning of 'bearer of a message,' while in *Ollanta*, verse 74, it has the modern meaning of a 'go-between' or 'pander.'

¹¹⁴ So far as the language is concerned, it is not impossible that *Ollanta* was reduced to writing soon after the conquest, and that successive copyists changed older for newer forms and introduced the few Hispanicisms. But there is no evidence in favor of this theory, and none of the partisans of the antiquity of *Ollanta* has suggested it, so far as I know. Certainly no manuscript older than the eighteenth century has been published, nor has mention of any such been made.

"Piqui-Chaqui. I had fallen asleep, and I dreamed a dream of ill omen.

Ollanta. Of what?

Piqui-Chaqui. Of an ass tied fast.

Ollanta. It was you yourself.

Piqui-Chaqui. That is why my ears have grown so long."

The line in which the word for "ass" is found runs as follows:

Huc asnuta huatascata.¹¹⁵

In the place of *asnuta*, Markham's text has *atoccta*, 'fox,' and an additional line that runs: "therefore my nose scents better." The "Bolivian" manuscript has *llamata*, 'llama,' which Tschudi adopts in his second edition. Pacheco Zegarra adopts the word for 'fox': Middendorf retains that of 'ass,' which certainly keeps better the point of the joke.

Verses 560-562 of Tschudi's text read, in translation: "Piqui-Chaqui (who has been searching through a deserted house),—I found everything quiet. I looked everywhere: not even a cat was there." The form of the word expressing 'cat' is here *misillapas* < *lisi*. Garcilasso,¹¹⁶ speaking of cats, says: "Los Yndios los llaman micitu, porque oyeron dezir á los Españoles miz, miz, quando los llamauan." Markham's text has *allcollapas*, 'dog,' which Tschudi accepts for his second edition with this naive statement of his reasons for doing so: "because the ancient Peruvians did not have house-cats."¹¹⁷ Middendorf retains the word for 'cat,' since, he says,¹¹⁸ cats, and not dogs, might be found in a deserted house.

In Tschudi's (v. 1304) and Markham's texts occurs a derivative of the word meaning 'to marry,' *casaracurccani* < Spanish *casar*, which came into common use after the conquest. The "Bolivian" manuscript has *ccascanaccurccani*, 'to unite,' which Tschudi adopted in his second edition.

In many verses of all three texts occurs the exclamation ay! (Tschudi, v. 523), which is probably of Spanish origin.

Middendorf¹¹⁹ calls attention to Spanish idioms that have been adopted by Quechua, and which appear in the texts of *Ollanta*,

¹¹⁵ *Asnuta* is the accusative case of *asnu* < Span. *asno*.

¹¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, IX, 20.

¹¹⁷ They did have dogs.

¹¹⁸ *Ollanta Drama*, p. 140.

¹¹⁹ *Ollanta Drama*, p. 143.

such as the literal equivalents of *dar gusto*, *ser cuchillo de alguno*, *no hay remedio*, *voy muerto*, etc.

The number of references in *Ollanta* to things or ideas of Spanish, or at least of European, origin is somewhat larger than the number of Spanish words. Thus, in Tschudi, verses 15-17 say: "Some day the Inca will learn of your intentions, and he will have your head cut off." Middendorf says decapitation was probably not known to the ancient Peruvians: that it is even doubtful if they had any instrument which could serve this purpose.¹²⁰

In Tschudi, v. 30, occurs the well known expression: "death with his" (or "her") scythe."

In the "Song of the Unknown" much is made of the pink and white complexion of the lady,¹²¹ although such a complexion is unknown among the dusky Indian maidens. Dr. Pietschman¹²² says that *siclla*, the name of a blue flower, is used as an appellation of a maiden.

In one of the dialogues we read:

"Piqui-Chaqui. You give freely to all, and with me alone you are niggardly.

Ollanta. Why do you wish anything?

Piqui-Chaqui. Why? For this and for that. To offer clothes to others; that others may see that I have silver,¹²³ and respect me." All authorities agree that the ancient Peruvians did not use gold or silver as money.¹²⁴

Rumiñahui says that all Cuzco mourns the death of Pachacutic, and "all are dressed in black."¹²⁵ Now, gray, and not black, was the color distinctive of mourning in ancient Peru. Cf. Garcila-

¹²⁰ But Cieza de León, *op. cit.*, *2a parte*, mentions decapitation. Cf. chapters XXVI and LXIV. And Huaman Poma gives a picture of a kind of halberd or battle-axe of copper, with a long handle. See Dr. Pietschmann's article in English on Huaman Poma's chronicle.

¹²¹ Cf.: "the white of her beautiful ear"; "the *achancara*" (a red flower) "blooms on her face in the midst of snow"; "white alternates with red"; "her soft neck is as white as snow."

¹²² Cf. article in English on Huaman Poma's chronicle.

¹²³ Tschudi, v. 661. Pacheco Zegarra translates the last clause: "Je voudrais sonner mon argent: ça donne de la considération."

¹²⁴ Cf. Garcilaso, *op. cit.*, V, 7; and VI, 1 and 2.

¹²⁵ Tschudi, v. 1064.

so:¹²⁶ "los Reyes lo mas del tiempo vestian de negro, y el de luto dellos era el vellori, color pardo que llaman."

In Tschudi, v. 1287, we read: "... bound with these iron chains." The ancient Peruvians did not use iron.¹²⁷ Tschudi translates this: "... mit ehernen Ketten," and states in a note that the word *quellay* was employed to denote iron after the coming of the Spaniards. Middendorf¹²⁸ considers this passage of undoubtedly modern origin. Pacheco Zegarra translates: "attachée à cette chaîne de fer."

And Piqui-Chaqui says: "Ask me and give me something, and I will tell you," to which Rumiñahui replies: "I will give you one stake with which to beat you and three with which to hang you." Does not this refer to the medieval European conception of the gallows?¹²⁹

Neither Garcilaso nor any of the chroniclers make mention of an Ollanta, or Ollantai, who was a military chieftain or official of any kind under the Incas.¹³⁰ Palacios, in his article in *El Museo erudito*, speaks of Ollanta as probably a native of Tampu and chieftain of his district, who by courage and talent rose to the post of governor of a province, but Palacios does not cite authorities.

Pachacutic, or Pachacuti, was a powerful Inca of the first half of the fifteenth century. According to the drama, Thupac Yupanqui was the son and successor of Pachacutic; but, according to Garcilaso and most of the chroniclers, he was the son of the Inca Yupanqui.¹³¹ In the third act of the drama, the young Inca, Thupac

¹²⁶ *Op. cit.*, VI, 21: cf. also IX, 6.

¹²⁷ Cf. Garcilasso, *op. cit.*, II, 18: "no supieron sacar el hierro aunque tuvieron minas del." And, II, 28: "de quantas herramientas usan los de por aca (in Spain) para sus oficios, no alcançaron los del Peru mas de la hacha y açuela, y essas de cobre."

¹²⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 139.

¹²⁹ Garcilaso, *op. cit.*, IV, 19 speaks of execution by hanging, but does not speak of the gallows.

¹³⁰ Markham, *The Incas of Peru*, p. 335, refers to evidence taken by the Viceroy Toledo, in 1570-71, from some two hundred witnesses, one of whom was named Ullantay. This seems to be the only mention in writing of a name similar to Ollanta before the appearance of the drama.

¹³¹ Huaman Poma, in his list of Incas, gives Topa Inga Yupanqui as the son of Pachacuti Inga Yupanqui. According to Huaman Poma, therefore, Pachacuti and Yupanqui were one and the same person (cf. Dr. Pietschmann's article in German).

Yupanqui, leaves Ollanta in charge of the government and sets out to conquer the Chancas; although, according to all accounts, the Chancas had been completely subjugated during the reign of Pachacutic. But these anachronisms, if they be such, would not be surprising, even if the drama were composed in the first or second decade of the sixteenth century, as Tschudi and Pacheco Zagarra suppose,—that is, nearly a century after the events described.

There are, however, certain passages in *Ollanta* which differ so markedly from the accounts of the chroniclers, that it seems highly improbable that they should have been composed in the time of the Incas. Thus, Ollanta, who is described as one of lowly origin,¹³² finally marries the sister of the Inca Thupac Yupanqui, and is appointed viceroy when the king leaves on a military expedition; although all authorities agree that in ancient Peru these honors could not come to one of plebeian origin. But to this charge against the historical accuracy of the drama, answer may be made that in several places it seems to be indicated that Ollanta was of royal blood. He is several times called *auqui* (Tschudi, verses: 246, 286, 400), a term applied only to princes of the royal blood. He is said to be the governor of the province of Antisuyu (Tschudi, verses: 152, 495), one of the four divisions of the empire, over which according to Garcilaso,¹³³ only "Incas legítimos en sangre" could rule. And, after his rebellion, his followers proclaim him their Inca. It seems impossible to reconcile this inconsistency of statement. If Ollanta had been of royal blood, the king would doubtless have been quite willing to give to this powerful chieftain one of his daughters to wife, but then there could have been no drama. The motif of the play is the ambition of a vassal who aspires to marry the Inca's daughter, and who rebels when his suit is scornfully rejected.

The Elect Virgins in the convent at Cuzco were subject to the strictest seclusion. They were rarely permitted to leave the building, and then only under escort; and they could be visited only by the queen and her daughters. Garcilaso says:

¹³² Ollanta asks the highpriest: "Will he (the Inca) reject me since I am not of Inca blood" (Tschudi, verses 237-8). Ollanta says to the king: "Why have you raised me up from plebeian rank?" (Tschudi, v. 480), and the king answers: "O, you are of lowly origin" (Tschudi, v. 510).

¹³³ *Op. cit.* II, 15.

"Viuián en perpetua clausura hasta acabar la vida con guarda de perpetua virginidad, no tenían locutorio, ni torno, ni otra parte alguna por donde pudiesen hablar, ni ver hombre, ni muger sino eran ellas mismas unas con otras, porque dezian que las mugeres del Sol no auian de ser tan communes que las viessen nadie; y esta clausura era tan grande, que aun el propio Inca no queria gozar del preuilegio, que como Rey podia tener de las ver, y hablar; Porque nadie se atreuiesse a pedir semejante preuilegio. Sola la Coya, que es la Reyna, y sus hijas tenían licencia de entrar en la casa, y hablar con las encerradas asi moças como viejas" (IV, 2). "... siendo la principal intención de aquellos Reyes Incas que en esta (casa) de las monjas no entrassen hombres . . . Y porque las virgenes de aquella casa del Cozco eran dedicadas para mugeres del Sol, auian de ser de su misma sangre, quieo dezir hijas de los Incas, assi del Rey como de sus deudos los legitimos, y limpios de sangre agena, porque de las mezcladas con sangre agena que llamamos bastardas, no podian entrar en esta casa del Cozco, de la qual vamos ablando: y la razon desto dezian que, como no se sufria dar al Sol muger corrupta sino virgen, assi tampoco era licito darse la bastarda con mezcla de sangre agena" (IV, 1). And Palacios says (*op cit.*): "La casa de las Virgenes escogidas . . . que hubo en el Ccoscco, y ocupaba el sitio en que hoy está el monasterio de Santa Catalina de Siena . . . con tal estrictez en su recogimiento que la escogida que recibían en él, no volvía á ver, oír, ó hablar ni aun con sus propios padres, siendo sólo permitido á la reina ó Ccoya y á las Infantas ó Ñustas de la familia real, el entrar y visitar aquella casa."¹⁸⁴

And yet, in *Ollanta*, a girl, whose father was unknown, wanders into the convent and out again with the greatest freedom; and near the end of the play, the king and his retinue enter the convent at the request of this unknown girl, to see a strange woman in chains!

The Amautas of ancient Peru formed a learned corporation, that directed the education, or training, of the priests and nobles; and the members of this corporation were the poets and historians of the empire, in so far as there could be historians and poets in a people that did not possess the art of writing. Middendorf¹⁸⁵ says well that "the poets of the Incas were the legal experts and the guardians of social and religious customs." It is most improbable that they should have composed a drama which, in such important particulars, stands thus in contradiction to established usage. *Ollanta* must

¹⁸⁴ Cf. also Cieza de León, *op. cit.*, 2a parte, Cap. XXVII.

¹⁸⁵ *Ollanta Drama*, p. 135.

have been composed at a time when the conditions that prevailed under the Incas were largely forgotten.

As *Ollanta* resembles the old Spanish drama in technique, so it does in spirit, with one notable exception. The exception is that the lovers do not meet alone on the stage.¹⁸⁶ The chroniclers tell us that the Inca gave wives to the princes of the blood, and even chieftains of districts selected wives for their subjects. If this be true, love-making as portrayed in the modern drama was unknown in ancient Peru, and the author of *Ollanta* was evidently aware of the fact.

On the other hand, *Ollanta* would seem to resemble the older Spanish drama in several important particulars. In the first scenes the *galán* and *gracioso* give the initial exposition of the argument of the play. The *gracioso* is not unlike those of Lope de Vega, Calderón and other dramatists of the *Siglo de Oro*.¹⁸⁷

The *coup-de-théâtre* in the third act, when the king pardons all and gives them his blessing, seems reminiscent of the drama of Christian Europe. And when Yma-Sumac throws herself before the king and demands justice, one is reminded of Corneille's Chimène or her prototype in Guillén de Castro's drama. And finally, at the end of the play, all the important actors, save one who died, are gathered on the stage.

IV

With regard to the existence of some sort of drama among the ancient Peruvians, Garcilaso says:

"No les faltó abilidad a los Amautas, que eran los philosophos, para componer comedias y tragedias, que en dias y fiestas solennes representauan delante de sus Reyes, y de los señores que asistian en

¹⁸⁶ Nor do they in the Christian drama *Usca Paucar*, although *Usca Paucar* falls in love and marries.

¹⁸⁷ We have already had the *gracioso's* joke of the ass. Some others follow. When *Ollanta* boasts: "If the whole land rises against me, my arm will strike down all. My hands, my feet, are clubs; my axe shall hew them all"; *Piqui-Chaqui* rejoins: "And even I might have given the man a kick, if he hadn't been armed." In the solemn moment when the prisoners are brought in chains before the king to be judged, the latter, looking at *Piqui-Chaqui* ("Flea-Foot"), says: "Who is this?" *Piqui-Chaqui* answers: "In every valley there are many fleas which bite people. One drives them away with warm water. Let that be my punishment."

la Corte. Los representantes no eran viles, sino Incas y gente noble hijos de Curacas, y los mismos Curacas y capitanes hasta maeses de campo: porque los autos de las tragedias se representassen al propio, cuyos argumentos siempre eran de hechos militares, de triunfos y victorias, de las hazañas y grandezas de los Reyes passados, y de otros heroicos varones. Los argumentos de las comedias eran de agricultura, de hazienda, de cosas caseras, y familiares" (II, 27). "La misma abilidad muestran para las sciencias si se las enseñassen, como consta por las comedias, que en diversas partes han representado, porque es assi que algunos curiosos religiosos de diuersas religiones, principalmente de la Compañia de Iesus por aficionar a los Yndios a los misterios de nuestra redencion, han compuesto comedias para que las representassen los Yndios porque supieron que las representauan en tiempo de sus Reyes Incas" (II, 28).

And Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua, in *Antigüedades del Peru* (cir. 1620) mentions types of dramatic compositions, which Markham¹³⁸ translates as 'joyous representations,' 'farces' and 'tragedies.' But neither Garcilaso nor Salcamayhua gives the title of any play or the name of any dramatic author, nor do they say whether the plays were in prose or in verse. If there were plays, they could not have been written, for the ancient Peruvians had no system of writing. It is possible that quipus may have been used to aid memory. This curious instrument was especially suited for reckonings and statistical tables. "In comparison with writing by letters, they" (the quipus) "were only a quite imperfect makeshift. For even if it was possible with intelligence and patience to express facts, commands, and even ideas, the form of the idea,—its wording,—could not be rendered."¹³⁹ If quipus were used by the Amautas to help them remember dramas, none of these quipus was preserved, or at least there is no record of any having been deciphered after the conquest. Don Ricardo Palma¹⁴⁰ in a letter¹⁴¹ to the writer of this article says:

"Yo no creo que en la época de las Incas hubiéramos tenido literatura teatral; para mí el famoso drama fué escrito en las postrime-

¹³⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 147.

¹³⁹ Middendorf, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

¹⁴⁰ The foremost man of letters in Peru, till 1912 director of the National Library at Lima, and author of *Tradiciones peruanas* (Lima, 1875 and 1899), *Mis últimas tradiciones* (Barcelona, 1906), *et al.*

¹⁴¹ Dated Jan. 10, 1913, at Miraflores, Lima, Peru.

rias del siglo XVIII por el cura de Tinta. Fijese usted en que las reminiscencias del teatro griego abundan en la obra, como lo comprueba la introducción de coros, y que la primera escena no desdice de las comedias de Lope, Calderón y Tirso, pues galán y gracioso hacen en la primera escena lo que se llama la exposición inicial del argumento. . . .¹⁴² En conclusión, y lamentando la imposibilidad en que me hallo¹⁴³ de discurrir sobre el tema, apuntándole las muchas razones en que fundo mi opinión de que en el tiempo de los Incas no existió literatura teatral, me reitero . . .” In a later letter¹⁴⁴ Señor Palma adds: “Mal podía haber en el Perú anterior á la conquista vida literaria, pues ni siquiera sabíamos escribir. Desconocíamos el uso de la pluma, y no teníamos alfabeto. Lo del famoso drama *Ollanta* no pasa de una superchería del cura Valdés. Ya la crítica lo ha comprobado suficientemente. Los Peruanos no teníamos ni noticia del uso del papel, de la pluma y de la tinta, antes de que viniera Don Francisco Pizarro á conquistarnos, y fué á fines del siglo XVIII cuando se le ocurrió al cura Valdés hacernos hasta dramaturgos.”

It is most improbable that the ancient Peruvians, without a system of writing and, consequently, without a literature, should have composed dramas like those of modern Europe. They may well have had ballads of historical content, and they may have had scenic pageants accompanied by song and dance. Cieza de León, Garcilaso, and others, speak of ballads. Thus, Cieza de León:

“Y es tambien de saber, que fué costumbre dellos y ley muy usada y guardada, de escoger cada uno, en tiempo de su reynado, tres ó quatro hombres ancianos de los de su nacion, á los cuales,

¹⁴² Here he speaks of General Mitre's article (*Ollantay. Estudio sobre el drama quichua*, in *La Nueva Revista de Buenos Aires* (1881), by General Bartolomé Mitre), saying that Mitre “opina, como yo, que los peruanos no tuvieron teatro.” In this article General Mitre advances many reasons for believing *Ollanta* to be modern. Among those not already given by others are the following: *Ollanta* is a drama of *capa y espada*; it puts emphasis on conjugal fidelity, dislike of polygamy, and humanity to the vanquished; rebellion is condoned; the High Priest refers to the broken thread of destiny; the *yaravi* is reminiscent of the Song of Solomon; the wit of the *gracioso* is Andalusian. In the introduction to his English translation of *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru* by Pedro Cieza de León (London, 1883), Markham attempts, in a humorous vein, to answer Mitre, whom he accuses of using faulty texts, and adds that “the true version must be considered as that which excludes all words and passages which are not common to *all* the older manuscripts.”

¹⁴³ Don Ricardo is eighty years of age and in poor health.

¹⁴⁴ Dated March 19, 1913.

viendo que para ello eran hábiles y suficientes, les mandaba que todas las cosas que sucediesen en las provincias durante el tiempo de su reynado, ora fuesen prósperas, ora fuesen adversas, las tuviesen en la memoria, y dellas hiciesen y ordenasen cantares, para que por aquel sonido se pudiese entender en lo futuro haber así pasado; con tanto que estos cantares no pudiesen ser dichos ni publicados fuera de la presencia del Señor."¹⁴⁵ And Garcilaso says: "Los Incas supieron componer en prosa, tambien como en verso, fabulas breves, y compendiosas por via de poesia, para encerrar en ellas doctrina moral, o para guardar alguna tradicion de su ydolatria, o de los hechos famosos de sus Reyes, o de otros grandes varones."¹⁴⁶

On page 131 of this article, mention was made of the historical pageants that were given at Potosí in the early days of that town. In an address entitled *La música indígena en sus relaciones con la literatura*, given by Don Felipe Barreda y Laos at Lima, Peru, in 1910,¹⁴⁷ the speaker describes somewhat similar representations that are given by the Indians of the Sierra today:

"Por medio de un baile que se llama de los *incas*, los indios de la Sierra mantienen siempre vivo el recuerdo doloroso de la conquista, reproduciendo con acompañamiento de danza, y canto de un coro de diez á doce jóvenes, el episodio de la prisión y muerte del inca Atahualpa. Regularmente, se ejecuta este baile de la siguiente manera: diez á doce jóvenes, lujosamente vestidas, se dividen en dos filas, colocadas frente á frente, y un tanto distanciadas. En el espacio intermediario, y hacia un extremo, se coloca un indio disfrazado de Pizarro, enmascarado, con sombrero de picos y espada. En el extremo opuesto, y cerrando el cuadro, está Atahualpa, que aparece entre dos ñustas: dos indios, también disfrazados de españoles, acompañan á Pizarro. Comienza el baile al son de un tamboril y de una flauta, y cuando éste concluye, sucede una lucha entre Pizarro y Atahualpa, que termina con la prisión y muerte del inca, entre cantos tristes y lamentaciones del coro de payas inconsolables."

It is certainly likely that the "dramas" of ancient Peru were akin to these scenic representations rather than to the plays of Calderon.*

¹⁴⁵ *Op. cit.*, 2a parte, Cap. XII.

¹⁴⁶ *Op. cit.*, IV, 1.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. *Conferencia literario-musical*, mentioned above.

* In *The Güegüence, A Comedy Ballet in the Nahuatl-Spanish Dialect of Nicaragua*, Edited by Daniel G. Brinton (Philadelphia, 1883), Brinton states that

Before closing this article, it seems best to give the views concerning the source of *Ollanta* held by some other Peruvian and Spanish scholars. The distinguished Peruvian historian, Don Manuel de Mandiburu, in an article entitled *La lengua Quichua ó Quechua*,¹⁴⁸ says:

"El notable publicista argentino General don Bartolomé Mitre y nuestro laborioso amigo don Ricardo Palma han sostenido que el *Ollanta* no pudo ser escrito en tiempo de los Incas, sino escrito en quechua, á fines del siglo XVIII, por persona conocedora del teatro griego y del español, opinión de la que también participa el compilador de estos apuntes, por estimarla muy fundada." Dr. José Gabriel Cosío, a professor in the University of Cuzco, published an article in the university review, *La Sierra* (August, 1911), entitled *El melodrama "Ollanta."* He sums up his conclusion in these words: "Es indudable que el drama tiene todas las trazas de ser obra de alguien que conocía el teatro español representado en el siglo de oro de la Literatura Castellana por Lope de Vega y Calderón. La disposición de las escenas, la ficción de los episodios y, sobre todo, el gracioso ó bufo representado por Piqui-Chaqui, mues-

in Nicaragua, in the sixteenth century, the Indians performed symbolic "bailes" at some of which songs "of an historical character" were sung, and quotes Fernández de Oviedo, who "was in Nicaragua in 1520" (*Historia general de las Indias*, Lib. XLII, Cap. XI. For accounts of similar dances in Mexico during the sixteenth century, see Girolamo Benzoni, *Historia del Nuovo Mondo*, fol. 103 *Venetia*, 1565), and Diego Durán, *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España* (ed. Mexico, 1880), tomo II, p. 232. Of the *Baile del Güegüence, ó Macho-ratón*, Brinton says: "Several copies of this exist in manuscript and from a comparison of two of them, the late Dr. C. H. Berendt obtained, in 1874, the text which is printed in this volume . . . Its antiquity and authorship are alike unknown." The play "is composed in a mixed dialect, a jargon of low Spanish and corrupt Aztec (Nahuatl). He considers the spirit of the play to be aboriginal because it differs from the Spanish drama in "the absence of all reference to the emotions of love . . . in that, while females are introduced, they are strictly *mutae personae*, even the heroine not speaking a word; that there are no monologues or soliloquies; that there is no separation into scenes, the action being continuous throughout; that there is neither prologue, epilogue or chorus; and especially the wearisome repetition of the same phases." *Güegüence* is a farce in prose consisting mainly of horseplay and coarse dialogues. Güegüence himself is a boasting, lying, licentious knave whose humor consists largely in pretending to be deaf or to misunderstand the words spoken to him.

¹⁴⁸ Published posthumously in *Apuntes históricos*, Lima, 1902. Mandiburu's most important work is the *Diccionario histórico del Perú*.

tran á las claras su origen colonial." Although the great Spanish literary critic Menéndez y Pelayo was not a Quechua scholar, yet his knowledge of comparative literature gives weight to his pronouncement regarding the source of *Ollanta*. He says:¹⁴⁹ ". . . el famoso *Ollantai*, que se ha querido dar por antiquísimo texto dramático de dicha literatura (quechua), pero que, leído desapasionadamente, no parece, á lo menos en las traducciones, más que una imitación de las comedias españolas, hecha por algún ingenioso misionero del siglo XVII, y quizá de tiempo muy posterior." To these expressions of opinion must be added the positive words of Dr. Lenz in his recent letter to the writer of this article, to which reference has already been made; "*Ollanta* is no more Incaic than the *drama del hijo pródigo* published by Middendorf."

It has been shown that Middendorf, who is the most learned and the most thorough of all Quechua scholars, was the first to determine the age of the texts of *Ollanta* by making a critical study of the language. Now, curiously, neither Middendorf nor any other of the Quechua scholars who have been mentioned in this article, has made a study of the versification of the play, and yet the versification is the most convincing evidence we have that no part of *Ollanta* was composed in its present form before the Spanish conquest. For if there was an *Ollanta* drama in the time of the Incas,—and of this there is not the slightest evidence,—it has been worked over from beginning to end and put into Spanish verse-forms.

V

The story of *Ollanta*,—at least in part,—may be ancient,¹⁵⁰ but this has not been proven. The *Ollanta* drama, in its present form, is of the eighteenth century: this date is clearly indicated by all the manuscripts now extant. It is possible that the play was composed at an earlier date, and that successive copyists changed

¹⁴⁹ *Antología de poetas hispano-americanos*, Vol. III (1894), p. cclxxvii.

¹⁵⁰ Palacios (in *El Museo erudito*, 1837) gives an *Ollanta* tradition; but as he heard it some sixty years after the public performance of the play, it is impossible to determine whether the tradition is the source of the play, or the play the source of the tradition. Pacheco Zagarra (*op. cit.*, p. xlix) says: "La plupart (des Indiens), peut-être tous, sauf de rares exceptions, ignorent l'existence d'un drame qui a pour base l'épisode historique d'*Ollantai* et même la tradition relative à cette épisode."

the language to conform to that spoken in their day, but of this there is no evidence. The spirit of the play, the dramatic arrangement, and the versification, show clearly that the author was acquainted with the Spanish drama, and that he imitated it. The date of the play has not been definitely established, but it could not have been prior to the Spanish conquest. The evidence points to the eighteenth century as the date of its composition, and to Valdés as its author. The *Ollanta* that we possess is not an "ancient Inca drama," for whether the subject matter be ancient or not, the play is modern. To call *Ollanta* "an ancient Inca drama" is as absurd as to call Shakspeare's *Julius Caesar* and Corneille's *Horace* ancient Roman dramas.

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THE LOVER IN ACHILLE CAULIER'S *HOSPITAL D'AMOURS*

IN the conclusion of his article on Achille Caulier's *Hospital D'Amours* (*Romania*, 34; 559-565) M. A. Piaget says: "Sans être d'une grande originalité, *l'Hospital D'Amours* est facilement écrit et témoigne de quelques dons d'observation. La partie où sont décrites les peines des amoureux renferme quelques traits heureux et a été imitée par Jean Bouchet dans son *Monologue de raison contre les folz amoureux*."

The possibility of finding marks of originality in a period perhaps characterized by the lack of any, led us to make a careful study of the poem so distinguished, and especially of the passage describing the sufferings of lovers.

Two influences can be traced in *l'Hospital D'Amours*: that of the ubiquitous *Roman de la Rose*, which supplies the leading ideas; and that of Alain Chartier's *Débat des deux fortunés d'amours*, which contributes a few of the striking details. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that Caulier had already, once before, imitated Alain Chartier, drawing inspiration for *La femme cruelle en amours*, from *La Belle Dame sans Merci* (*Romania*, 31; 322-349). The two influences, distinct enough in their essential features, are not so easily differentiated when they come in contact: The source is always clear, but the form makes us suspect that Caulier may occasionally have taken the ideas through the direct medium of Alain Chartier. The blending is such, however, as to make it impossible to determine which is the dominant influence, and, in such cases, we shall content ourselves with citing parallel passages. As for the author himself, his function seems to be that of a clever compiler, who occasionally takes liberties with his material, and develops (paradoxically) originality in imitation.

The first part of *l'Hospital* employs the usual allegorical machinery of the *Roman*: The 'verger'; the fountain of Narcissus; Venus and her 'brandon'; Bel-accueil, the porter; Male-bouche and Jalousie, who stir up the gardner, Dangier, against the lover; Pitie,

etc., etc. Rebuffed by Dangier, the Lover goes to complain to Amours himself. The god's answer is a disquisition (one-third of the poem) on the woes of lovers. It is introduced by a question which, logically, must refer to the passage in the *Roman*, where at the request of l'Amant, he gives him his precepts (*Roman*, 2053 . . .). "Do you remember," he asks, "what I told you before about the sufferings to be endured,"

"Ains que tu eusses d'amours le bout?" *Hospital*, p. 741

This question, Amours' first words, might, of course, be a mere introductory device; but, the subsequent similarities seem to support our assumption of a direct reference. Amours continues (*Hospital*, page 742):

"Ne te souvient-il que je dis
Au commencement tu auroyes
Contre ung bien des maux plus de dix,
.
.
.
Ung seul bien que je scay donner
Reboute cent mille douleurs."

Likewise, Chartier (*Débat*, p. 568):

"Et cent douleurs contre ung plaisir acquièrent."

The source for both might well be the following lines of the *Roman* (2636-8):

"Esperance li fait soffrir
Tant maus que nus n'en set le conte
Por la joie qui cent tans monte."

The Lover is next shown needlessly suffering and tormenting himself (*Hospital*, p. 743):

"Je te diray de quoi il sert
De veiller, de rompre sa teste
De faire veille a point de feste."

Débat, p. 553:

"Si se tempeste
Et de veiller rompt son corps et sa teste
Ne n'a plaisir de joye ne de feste."

The contrary emotions of the Lover are described in *l'Hosp.*, 743:

" . . . en plourant se rit de joye."

The *Débat*, 552, makes him

"Parmy les gens rire la larme à l'ueil."

The *Roman*, 4342, describing love says:

"C'est ris plains de plors et de lermes."

Taking his theme from the *Roman*, l. 2191-2198:

"Il est ensi que li amant
Ont par hores joie et torment
.
.
.
.
.
.
Une hore plore et autre chante.

Caulier speaks of the variable moods of the Lover: His sudden and unreasoning elation is changed to an equally sudden and senseless grief. He vows never again to see his lady, but (*Hosp.*, 744):

"Devant son hostel passera . . .
.
.
.
.
.
.
En ce point passera le temps
Jusques à ce qu'on clorra l'huys."

The Lover in the *Débat*, 553:

". . . va passer trois fois devant sa porte
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
Passe et repasse,
Et de passer devant l'huys ne se lasse."

Both act in accordance with the direction given by Amours, in the *Roman*, 2397-8, that the Lover must haunt the approaches of his lady's house.

"Et tes allées et ti tour
Soient tuit adès la entour."

After the door is closed, the Lover will return to listen (*Hosp.*, 745):

"Si y reviendra tout[e]s les nuis
A ung certain trou escouter,

L'oreille y mettra justement
 Pour escouter et rien ouyr
 Et sa teste emplira de vent
 Qui luy fera les dents fremir
 Et esmouvoir: si que dormir
 Ne pourra. . . ."

This trait is not in the *Débat*, but follows the *Roman*, l. 2534-2538:

"Après iras à l'huys devant
 Et se tu treuves fendéure
 Ne fenestre ne serréure,
 Oreille et escoute parmi
 S'il se sont léens endormi."

The following idea, however, which is not in the *Roman*, is taken from Alain Chartier, and shows Caulier's original way of developing his data: The Lover's joys like his sorrows, spring mostly from self-delusion. The sight—or fancied sight—of his lady, is enough to make him happy (*Hosp.*, 744):

"Et peult estre qu'à l'huys viendra
 La vieille tordre son filé,
 Et sa dame véoir cuidera.
 Ainsi sera trompé le fol, . . .
 Pour neant perdra sa tristesse."

Débat, 559:

"Et si sa dame à la fenestre vient
 Soy montrer goutte,
 Ou se le vent une fenestre boute,
 Dont il cuide que sa dame l'escoute,
 S'en va coucher joyeux, . . ."

After a sleepless night, the Lover arises and hurries off to early mass. Not only can he see his lady on her way to church, and gaze upon her there, but he has the great happiness of presenting the Pax to her and of kissing the place which her lips touched. *Hosp.*, 745-746:

"Et puis s'en va vers le monstier
 Sans penser à Dieu n'à image,
 Il scet l'heure que par usage

Sa dame doit aller à messe,
Si l'attend de l'oeil au passage,

.
.

Et puis fait tant qu'il a la paix,
La fait baiser à sa maitresse
Et s'il ose la baise après."

Débat, 559:

"Et au matin à la messe sonner
L'amant s'en va l'Eglise environner,
Et l'eau benoiste à sa dame donner,
Et la paix prendre
Tout volentiers pour luy porter et tendre.
Car c'est le bien ou il veult lors entendre,
Qu'après elle baisier sans plus attendre."

This feature is found in the *Flamenca* (l. 2391-3): Guillem de Nivers goes to mass early in the hope of seeing Flamenca. L. 2559-60: The Pax is given her to kiss. L. 2997 and 3967: Guillem kisses it more than a thousand times after her. Caulier has further developed this passage by the addition of traits found neither in the *Flamenca* nor in Chartier—who, doubtless, was his direct source (*Hosp.*, 746). At the 'Introit', the Lover takes a seat near or opposite his lady, better to see her face. Any beggar who happens along is sure to receive generous alms.

"C'est amoureuse ypocrisie,"

At the 'Offertory', she goes to kiss the priest's finger, and the poor Lover trembles with the fear that someone may kiss it ahead of him. He almost wishes that it were cut off. During mass, he is too occupied with his goddess to think of God—his prayers are addressed to Him, his thoughts to her. As she leaves the church, he follows her with his eyes, then goes to bow over the place where she bent her head,

"Car pour certain luy semblera
Que le lieux vaille mieulx pour elle."

He imagines that no one knows his secret, whereas (*Hosp.*, 746):

" . . . l'experience
De quanque il fait court par la ville."

The *Débat* likewise says that (574-575)

" . . . tout sera decloz
Ce qu'il tenoit & bien couvert & clos."

Both poems show the exhilarating effect of his lady's glance upon the Lover. Not only is he beside himself with joy, but, thinking himself loved, he pledges his faith to her, and goes about singing into the night (*Hosp.*, 747):

" En passant ung salut luy fait
Et ung doulx regard luy envoie
S'elle respond, il est reffait.

.
Ne se peult tenir qu'il ne chante,
En allant comme font les fos,

.
D'estre loyal sa foy créante,
Et pour ce salut fait tel feste,
Qu'il cuide estre amé, . . . "

Débat, 558:

" Et s'il advient que sa dame le voye,
Et que sans plus ung regard luy envoie,
Il pensera que le cueur le convoie.
Or est repeu,
Et s'esjouyst . . .

.

Débat, 559:

Et cuide bien,
Que la belle luy vueille assez de bien,
Et jure Dieu qu'il est et sera sien
N'autre qu'elle n'amera il pour rien.

.
Et sur la nuit va chantant à voix basse."

the same idea also occurs earlier in the poem (*Débat*, 553-554):

" Et de chanter n'est nul qui le desmeuve:
Et s'ainsi est qu'il la rencontre ou treuve
En aucuns lieux,

Et elle rit de la bouche ou des yeulx,
Il est ravy trop plus hault qu'aux tiers cieulx,
Et prend pour soy tousjours la chose au mieulx."

This extravagant joy is again turned to deepest gloom, if perchance he catches sight of his lady returning some other gallant's salute. He goes to dinner, pretends to eat, and absent-mindedly takes up his glass when he wants the bread (*Hosp.*, 748) :

"Ainsi s'en va vers le disner,
Et de desplaisir est tout plain,
Et pour contenance monstrier
S'assiet et va disner sans fain:
Quant il doit boire il prend le pain."

Débat, 571 :

". . . n'a saveur en vin ne en viande
Manjue sans fain,
S'il quiert le boire, il va prendre le pain."

This last trait, original with Chartier, serves Achille Caulier as a starting point for further amplification: The Lover, to conceal his agitation, "Joue du cousteau & du pié", he cuts up his 'trenchoer', and finally, starts from the table without taking leave. When alone (*Hosp.*, 748) :

". . . est de lermes aveuglé.
Lors fait ses regrets et ses plains:
En haut crie, destort ses mains,"

The *Débat*, 570, also gives a picture of the distracted Lover :

"Ses yeulx mouillez & sa face souillée.
Or pense et songe,
Ses mains destord. . . ."

A condition of semi-torpor succeeds these marks of violent grief; the Lover remains for a while motionless, "Sans mémoire, comme une beste," and then decides to go declare his love to his lady. He prepares a beautiful speech, but is tongue-tied when comes the time to deliver it (*Hosp.*, 749) :

"Lors pense comme il dira,
Quant ce viendra à approucher.

Et comme son propos sçaura
 En ung beau langaige coucher.
 Le penser ne couste pas chier,
 Mais la maîtrise est en faisant:
 Car lors qu'il devra commencer,
 Ne sçaura quel bout va devant."

Débat, 569-570:

" Or se repose
 Le douloureux, qui en son cueur propose
 Qu'il luy dira, mais dire ne luy ose,
 . . .
 Langue n'y sert plus que s'el fust coupée
 Et sa pensée est si envelopée
 Et si en serre,
 Qu'il ne scet bout ne fin. . . ."

The *Roman*, l. 2409-2416, is obviously the direct source:

" Parole te faudra et sens
 Quant tu cuideras commencer;
 etc., etc., . . .

See further, Langlois, *Origines*, pp. 30 and 31. This awkward situation is repeated, until the lady, eager for the 'dénouement,' skillfully draws forth the declaration, which she follows by a prompt refusal—not without leaving some ray of hope, however. This is the final test of loyalty (*Hosp.*, 751).

" Mais prenez qu'il die à son aise
 Or tout ce que dire il voudra
 Et que tout à sa dame plaise,
 Pour ce conforté en sera:
 Car elle luy reffusera.
 Pour l'esprouver luy fait ce mal."

Débat, 561:

" Et s'il trouve quelque fois la saison,
 Que bel accueil luy donne l'achaison
 D'oser compter et dire sa raison
 . . .
 Tant qu'elle veoit que ce n'est mie fainte

De ce qu'il dit:
Elle luy donne un courtois escondit
Meslé d'espoir que reffus contredit,"

Another excuse for this harshness is that it enhances the value of love (*Hosp.*, 751).

"Et cil qui prie doit sçavoir,
Que tant plus est la chose chiere,
Tant doit plus couster à l'avoir:
La valeur y met la renchiere."

Débat, 555-556:

"Mais il n'est bien ne joye si hautaine,
Que l'en prise, s'on ne l'a à grant paine.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
Car nature a en nous telle loy mise
Que mieulx nous plaist chose à danger conquise."

In the *Roman*, after Amours has enumerated the woes and trials of lovers, l'Amant asks him how a human being can possibly endure such torments. Amours replies (*Roman*, l. 2610-14):

"Nus n'a bien s'il ne le compère
Si aime-l'en miex le cheté
Quant l'en l'a plus chier acheté
Et plus en gré sunt recéu
Li bien dont l'en a mal éu."

Achille Caulier finishes with a passage in praise of ladies (*Hosp.*, p. 751):

"Tout est fait pour homme servir,
Et homme est fait pour servir Dame."

The god of love now goes to the lady, and obtains a kiss for the Lover.

The examination of the preceding passages reveals, therefore, a strong influence (a) of the *Roman de la Rose*, in ideas and allegorical matter; (b) of Alain Chartier's *Débat des deux fortunés d'amours*, in some important details, with occasional cases of verbal similarity; (c) Achille Caulier's originality in the elaboration of his sources.

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THE FRENCH PAST DEFINITE AS PERFECT

THE Latin perfect tense, from which the French past definite is descended, was used to denote not only what happened at a definite point of past time, but what has happened relative to the present, *e. g.*, "vixit", "he has lived". In Low Latin, the aorist use of this tense came to predominate, its use as a perfect being generally supplanted by the new past indefinite.¹ Grammarians seem generally agreed, however, that the perfect use of the old tense persisted in Old French to a certain extent. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. der rom. Sprachen*, III, pp. 127-129, establishes—not very clearly—three uses of this tense. As an example of the perfect use he quotes *Cligès*, 4735: "Nos nel *veïmes* puis que nos del tornoï *partimes*", and a few other cases, adding: "In der alten [Sprache] kommt sie nur sehr vereinzelt vor". Étienne, *Essai de gram. de l'anc. fran.*, pp. 229-230, gives an example from *Alex.* 14b, and the following from Joinville: "Je Jehans, sires de Joinville, . . . fais escrire . . . ce que je vi et ouï par l'espace de sis ans que je fui en sa compagnie . . . et puis que nous *revenimes*". Darmesteter, *Historical French Grammar* (trans. by A. Hartog, Macmillan, 1899), pp. 754-755, says: "As a matter of fact, the distinction between these two tenses [past definite and perfect] was not a sharply established one even in the Old language. Thus . . . we find the preterite constantly replacing the perfect: 'Sachiez nos ne *venimes* mie por vos mal faire, ainz *venimes* por vos garder'. Villehardouin, 146. . . . The preterite was thus used not only to represent the past absolute, but also to denote a past in relation with the present. This confusion continued in Middle French."

In Middle French, an excellent example of the perfect use is found in Villon, *Grand Testament*, CLX: "Jehan de Calays, honorable homme, | Qui ne me *veit* des ans a trente, | Et ne scait comment je me nomme", etc. The implication of connection with present time is here unmistakable. In the 16th century, a good instance occurs in the last line of Clément Marot's *Adieu aux dames*

¹ Cf. Grandgent, *Introduction to Vulgar Latin*, §§ 122, 124.

de la court: "Or je feis fin à mon Adieu".² The adverb *or* (= *maintenant*) and the poem as a whole show clearly that the sense is *j'ai fait*. (Cf. also "dont je vous feis present", earlier in the same poem.)

There seems little doubt of the existence of this use of the past definite in Old and Middle French. Does it continue in modern French, as it does in modern Spanish, *e. g.*, in the common expression "Ya acabó"? Most of the grammars consulted—Clédat, B. Jullien, Marty-Laveaux (*Lexique de la langue de Corneille*), Harrison (Mätzner), Haase, Petit de Julleville, Brunot—either pass over the subject, or seem to agree with the usual distinction between the past definite and the past indefinite, confining the former to those cases where the time of the verb-action is wholly in the past and reserving for the latter those cases where any connection of the past with the present is expressed or implied. Meyer-Lübke (*loc. cit.*) says expressly: "Dagegen kennt die moderne Sprache die Verwendung als reines Perfektum Präsens gar nicht".

In spite of this, I believe it can be shown that the use of the past definite as perfect has continued uninterruptedly from Middle French through the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries down to the present time, at least in the written language. In support of this theory, the following examples are adduced. Not in all cases can these tenses be translated with the auxiliary "have",³ but in every case there is, I believe, a distinct connection with present time implied.

In the 17th century, we find the following: "La voici, la belle Marie, . . . Qui fait confesser au soleil, . . . Que du ciel, depuis qu'il y monte, | Ne *vint* jamais rien de pareil" (Malherbe, *A la reine Marie de Médicis*).—"Avec trop de vertus il vous *plut* la former, | Pour ne vous pas connaître et ne vous pas aimer" (Corneille, *Polyeucte*, 1269-1270).—"Tout ce que je demande . . . C'est que chez les Romains il retourne achever | Des jours que dans leur sein vous *fîtes* élever" (Corneille, *Nicomède*, 1287-1290). (Attale has just returned from Rome.)—"Par le droit de la guerre il *fut* tou-

² Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, in a note on this line, p. 188 of their *Morceaux choisis du XVI^e siècle*, explain: "Je fis, j'ai fait."

³ The use of the compound tense is not always required in English to imply connection with the present. Cf. "It's the best play I ever saw."

jours permis | D'allumer la révolte entre ses ennemis" (*ib.*, 1697-1698).—"Pour témoigner à tous qu'à regret je permets | Un sanglant procédé qui ne me *plut* jamais" (*id.*, *le Cid*, 1451-1452).—"Oui, Clitandre en est charmé, | Et je ne *vis* jamais amant plus inflammé" (Molière, *Femmes savantes*, 353-354).—"Un bienfait reproché *tint* toujours lieu d'offense" (Racine, *Iphigénie*, 1413).—"Et l'on ne *trouva* point de véritable amant | Qui n'estime les fers qu'il supporte en aimant" (Du Ryer, *les Vendanges de Suresnes*, III, 1).—"Dans la Normandie, qui *fut* toujours une des provinces les plus laborieuses et les plus aisées, sur 700,000 âmes, il n'y en a pas 50,000 qui mangent du pain" (Petition of 1698, in Lacombe, *Petite Histoire du peuple français*, p. 145).

In the 18th century, we find the following: "Voilà mes passions. Mon âme en tous les temps | *Goûta* de leurs attraites les plaisirs consolants" (Voltaire, *Discours sur l'homme*).—"Julie, *oubliâtes*-vous mes serments avec les vôtres? Pour moi, je ne les ai point oubliés" (Rousseau, *la Nouvelle Héloïse*, VI, 7).—"J'*aimai* la vertu dès mon enfance, et *cultivai* ma raison dans tous les temps" (*ib.*, VI, 8).—"Tout ce qu'elle [Julie] *eut* de meilleur vous reste . . . Que tout ce qu'elle *aima* se rassemble pour lui donner un nouvel être" (*ib.*, VI, 12). (Julie's death-bed letter.)—"Difficile à ébranler et à retenir, ce *fut* là de tout temps ma disposition constante" (*id.*, *Confessions*, p. 29 in Steeg's *Extraits*).—"Elle est au sein des flots, la jeune Tarentine! | Son beau corps a roulé sous la vague marine. | Téthys, les yeux en pleurs, dans le creux d'un rocher | Aux monstres dévorants *eut* soin de le cacher" (Chénier, *la Jeune Tarentine*, 15-18).

In the 19th century, we find the following cases: "Athène a vu longtemps s'accroître ta beauté, | Et, depuis que trois fois t'*éclaira* son été, | Ton front s'est élevé jusqu'au front de ta mère" (Vigny, *Symétha*, 25-27).—"Stello est né le plus heureusement du monde et protégé par l'étoile du ciel la plus favorable. Tout lui a réussi . . . cette étoile ne lui *manqua* jamais", etc. (*id.*, *Stello*, p. 1).—"D'autres sont bien plus malheureux que moi: mais j'ignore s'il *fut* jamais un homme moins heureux" (Senancour, *Obermann*).—"Éteins-toi, cœur jeune et plein de flamme! | Laisse régner l'esprit, que longtemps tu *troublas*!" (Hugo, *Hernani*, 1766-1767).—"La mort est amère | A qui *vécut* trop doucement" (Gautier, *les Affres*

de la mort).—“. . . ces charmants passages qui prouvent, une fois de plus, l'avance marquée qu'*eut* presque de tout temps la prose française sur la poésie" (Ste.-Beuve, *Nouveaux Lundis*, IV, p. 306).⁴ "Me voici donc . . . bien averti que je vais avoir à payer de quelque ennui des satisfactions qui *furent* très vives" (Fromentin, *Une année dans le Sahel*, p. 106).—"Et comme le souvenir de quelque chose qui *fut* et ne renaitra jamais . . ." (Cherbuliez, *le Comte Kostia*, p. 307).—"Ici, des rosiers nains qu'un goût docte *effila*" (Verlaine, *Nuit de Walpurgis classique*, 10). (The poem is in the present tense).—"D'autres lunettes . . . reproduisent . . . tout ce que le temps *emporta* dans sa fuite" (France, *Abeille*, Heath ed., p. 57.) "Un bonhomme qui, comme moi, *consuma* sa vie sur des livres, ne sait pas", etc. (*id.*, *Sylvestre Bonnard*, Holt, old ed., p. 44).—"Je rêve; cela est bien permis . . . à un bonhomme qui *publia* trente volumes de textes anciens et *collabora* pendant vingt-six ans, etc. . . . Mes efforts ne *furent* pas tout à fait vains, et j'ai contribué", etc. (*ib.*, new ed., p. 99).—"Les gens qui *n'eurent* pas de faiblesses sont terribles" (*ib.*, p. 147).—"C'est un adieu, et il *fut* de tout temps dans la nature de l'homme de prolonger les adieux" (*ib.*, p. 225).—"Pour ceux qui me voient du haut du Serapum, . . . je ressemble à un grain de riz; mais ce grain de riz *causa* . . . des deuils", etc. (*id.*, *Thaïs*, p. 143). Thaïs is still beautiful.)—"Je n'ai pas trouvé le bonheur en ce monde. Mon sort *fut* plus beau que celui d'une reine et cependant la vie m'a apporté bien des tristesses" (*ib.*, p. 151).—"Heureux qui *sut* se rendre muet, aveugle et sourd et qui ne comprend rien du monde afin de comprendre Dieu"! (*ib.*, p. 326).—"Si quelquefois je *fus* éloquent . . . Vous le *fûtes*!" (Rostand, *Cyrano de Bergerac*, III, 6).—"Regarde, Cyrano! ce matin, sur le quai, | Le bizarre gibier à plumes que nous *primes*!" (*ib.*, II, 7). (Rostand here violates the rule that the past definite must not be used in connection with any period of time not yet completed.)

In the 20th century we find these cases: "Eux étaient les sages . . . et ma destinée, au contraire, *fut* de courir à tous les mirages" (Loti, *Château de la belle au bois dormant*, p. 28).—"Tous ceux qui

⁴ With this passage, of 1863, it is interesting to compare the following, of 1845: "Cet excellent dialogue . . . est un exemple de plus . . . qu'en français la prose *a eu* de tout temps une avance marquée sur la poésie" (*Id.*, *Port. contemp.*, V, p. 25).

les *fréquentèrent* et *surent* les comprendre le connaissent aussi bien qu'eux-mêmes, ce cri" (*ib.*, p. 59).—"Le peuple . . . sait très bien qu'un homme a été souvent à la guerre . . . qu'un juge est assidu . . . Le peuple sait qu'un tel *fut* toujours bon juge et qu'un tel *fut* un excellent officier. Donc il peut nommer un préteur et un général" (Faguet, *le Culte de l'incompétence*, p. 41).

These examples, it is believed, are sufficient to show that in the written language the French past definite still frequently implies a connection with present time.

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MISCELLANEOUS.

ROMANIC *RETINAS

THE stressless porcion ov *retinet* woz replaced by strest *tenet* at an erly period, and the permanent coneccion ov **re-tenet* with *tenet* cauzd intervocalic *t* to escape voising. The imperativ *retine* woz, houeever, retaind in speaking to a driver; and becauz ov its differ-ing stress, it ceast to be associated with *tene* and **re-tene*. A curius paralel for this formacion ov dublets iz found in English *get ap* = *get up*, with a vouel-chanje unnown in ordinery speech. Az môst diccionery-riters ignoar *get ap*, it may be wel to say (for the benefit ov foren readers) that this expression means 'go on' in speaking to a horse. Persons acustomd to saying *get ap* do not uze it for eny other sense ov *get up*.

The isolated imperativ *retine* woz thus free to form infleccions ov its own. On acount ov its peculiar use, very feu wer needed, probably ônly foar or five at the môst. A man miht say *curre* to his servant, but *curras* to a frend and *currat ille senior* hwen speaking to (or ov) a stranjer. Likewise *retine* developt the subjunctiv **retinas*, and perhaps also **retinat*, **retinamus*, **retinatis*, **retinant*. From **retinas* come Portugees *rédeas*, Galician *rendas*, Spanish *riendas*, Catalan *regnas*, Provencial *renas*, French *re(s)nes*. Kört-ing's idêa ov conecting the Provencial form *renhas* with *renhar* iz perhaps corect; but *ilha*, a variant ov *isla* < *insula*, shows that such an explanacion iz needless. His statement that French *resnes* cannot come from **retinas* iz cwite unjustified. He cwotes *aurone* < *abrotomu* and *plane* < *platanu* az evidense in the matter, but sinse all three werds show chect vouels with later loss ov the checking sounds, *aurone* and *plane* proov that *rênes* can come from **retinas*. The ritn *s* ov *resne* may hav wonse bin pronounst, if we asume a chanje ov *ð* to *z* in contact with a consonant. But it iz also possibl that *s* in *resne* woz, like *d* in the variant spelling *redne*, meerly the grafic simbol ov vouel-length or the "etimolojic" representativ ov

a lost sound.¹ *Rêne* has the dialectal variants *-ranne* and *-rande* in derivativs ov **bouiretina*.²

Catalan *setmana* has the variants *senmana*,³ *semmana*,⁴ *semana*.⁵ Thees developments show that secondary *t*, in contact with a voist consonant, may be treated like a primery intervocalic *t*. We can thærfoar asume that in the Catalan derivativ ov **retinas*, the secondary *d* miht hav developpt like a primery *d* between vouels. The common development *w* < *v* < *ð*, az in *cau* < *cadit*, *riu* < *ridet*, permits the asumpcion ov **rewma* < **redena* < **retina*. The ocazional chanje ov *w* to *l* befoar a consonant, az in *colze* < *cubitu*, *malalt* < *male habitu*, shows that the *w* ov **rewma* miht hav become velar *l*. By asimilacion *w* or velar *l* cood hav made *ŋ* (= English final *ng*) befoar *n*. The sounds *w* and *ŋ* hav nearly the same tungpozicions; a chanje ov nazalized *w* to *ŋ* iz found in Galician *ũa* (speld *unha* or *un-a*) = Portugees *uma* < *una*.⁶ Thus Catalan *regna*, pronounst *reŋnə*, iz prezumably the direct derivativ ov **retina*: thær iz no need ov asuming eny influense from the book-werd *regnar*.

Italian *redine* and *redini* may be conected eether with **retinas* or with *retine*.

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¹ *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXXV, 95.

² *Romania*, XLII, 384.

³ *Revista de bibliografia catalana*, I, 79.

⁴ *Revista de bibliografia catalana*, I, 86; *Revue de dialectologie romane*, V, 15.

⁵ *Revista de bibliografia catalana*, I, 88.

⁶ Cp. *Die Neueren Sprachen*, XI, 148; *Revue hispanique*, VI, 39; Robles, *Fonética general*, 98, Santiago 1900. I hav herd *ũa* repeatedly pronounst by the Galician poet Aurelio Ribalta, a nativ ov Ferrol.

BOOK REVIEWS.

François I^{er} et le Mouvement Intellectuel en France. (1515-1547.) By WILLIAM HEUBI, Docteur ès Lettres. Lausanne, 1913. Pp. 157.

History has provided us with so much material concerning Francis I. and he has been the subject, both directly and indirectly, of so many studies of historical and literary nature, that we are not a little astonished to see a new book dealing with the seemingly exhausted topic.

Within the last thirty years, or more, students of literature have turned their eyes to the Renaissance with ever increasing interest and enthusiasm. Each year sheds new light on the leaders and the followers of the period. We now have excellent studies of such men as Budé, Dolet, Calvin, S. Castellion, Guillaume du Bellay, Marguerite de Navarre, Clément Marot, Mellin de Saint-Gelais, and others. Naturally, Francis I. figures in all these works, but up till now we have had no single volume in which is put before us concretely the rôle played by the king in the development of thought, and his exact dealings with the exponents of Humanism and of the Reformation. This is the task undertaken by M. Heubi, the author of the volume in consideration.

As we all know, Humanism and the Reformation formed the intellectual activity of France during the Renaissance. Hitherto these movements were studied separately. It is our author's aim to show the attitude of Francis I. toward both movements. M. Heubi admits that his sympathies lie with the martyrs of the Reformation, but we can say at this point that in no wise does he allow this bias to prevent his giving a straightforward and unprejudiced account of the situation. Some of the questions he puts to himself and his readers, and which he hopes to solve are: To what extent did Francis I. favor Humanism and the Reformation? In the measures which he took for or against these movements did he obey political principles, did he undergo certain influences, did he yield to simple impulses? The author adopts the method of the annalist, which, he says, is the least arbitrary of all. "En d'autres termes, c'est un travail tout positif que nous avons essayé d'effectuer; sans doute, il présente des imperfections: la masse des faits que nous avions à mentionner était si considérable que nos vues d'ensemble ne ressortent peut-être pas avec un relief suffisant. Nous espérons pourtant avoir fait œuvre utile en jetant les bases d'une synthèse qui ne pourra d'ailleurs être vraiment définitive que lorsque le travail de préparation sera beaucoup plus avancé."

The book is arranged in strictly chronological order and is divided into chapters which correspond with the principal activities of the king. In the first chapter we become acquainted with his childhood and youth and with his education. This education was a very well balanced one, but not that of a true humanist, since Francis I. scarcely knew Latin. He was able, however, to converse in Italian. His early life was not so debauched as we have been led to believe. "En effet, si voluptueux qu'il fût, le successeur de Louis XII n'était point dénué de sensibilité, et il était capable, à l'occasion, de nourrir des sentiments assez

déliçats . . . Mais vraiment François I^{er} ne fait pas mauvaise figure vis-à-vis de ses contemporains Henri VIII. et Charles-Quint, ou de ses successeurs au trône de France."

One of the first edicts issued by the king was a decree against blasphemers, and a very severe punishment awaited them. This edict is curious because it shows how closely the Church and the monarchy were united, for crimes committed against the one were punished by the other. It also illustrates the severity of the penalties inflicted at the time, and in that foreshadows the sentences pronounced against the Lutherans. Heubi shows the part played by the Parlement and the Sorbonne in questions of religion, as for example the difficulties the king had with the University in regard to the Concordat of 1516.

From the very outset Francis I. tried to become the patron of letters, both thru pride and political interest: he thot that the protection he gave to the intellectuals would assure his glory and he would get the support and advice of their wisdom. It is thus that the ideas expressed by Budé in his *Recueil d'Apophtegmes*, in which he says that the cult of letters in general and of history in particular is not only useful to kings during their life, but assures them glory eternal, became, in a way, part of the policy of Francis I. Heubi gives an account of the efforts of the king to persuade Erasmus to come to France, thru the intermediary of Budé. Francis I. wanted to found an institution independent of the Sorbonne, and thot that Erasmus would be a desirable acquisition, but the latter was not very willing to expose himself to the attacks of the University of Paris.

Heubi acquaints us with the policy of the king in regard to Lefèvre d'Etaples and Berquin, when in spite of the adverse decisions of the Sorbonne, Francis protected the humanists. He is not so generous, however, toward the Lutherans. The former were moderate in their demands for reform, and interested the king intellectually, while the Lutherans wanted an immediate rupture with the pope—a step which Francis neither cared nor dared to take. "Jusqu'ici, le gouvernement de François s'est montré d'une modération remarquable. Il a protégé avec constance le groupe de Meaux contre les attaques des théologiens, et il est intervenu en faveur de Lefèvre et de ses amis contre le Parlement lui-même. Sans doute, quelques mesures de répression ont été ordonnées, mais elles sont dirigées contre les luthériens et l'on peut, sinon excuser, du moins expliquer les ordonnances de ce genre par la gravité de la situation extérieure. En tout cas, François I^{er}, de 1515 à 1524, a toujours manifesté le plus vif intérêt pour le mouvement intellectuel. En agissant ainsi, il a eu le courage de se mettre en opposition avec le Parlement et la Sorbonne, à une époque où l'horizon politique s'assombrissait facilement" (p. 27).

We are taken step by step thru the Regency of Louise de Savoie. She too was lenient with the "novateurs modérés" and intervened in favor of Berquin. "En somme, la politique de Louise de Savoie pendant la Régence fut exclusivement réaliste. Louise chercha à réprimer le luthéranisme, parce qu'elle y voyait une sorte de mouvement révolutionnaire. . . . D'ailleurs, même si la régente avait conservé une aussi vive sympathie que par le passé à l'égard des novateurs, elle ne pouvait intervenir en leur faveur avec beaucoup de succès, puisque la Sorbonne et le Parlement, ces deux corps si puissants, leur étaient opposés. Elle devait même se concilier les théologiens et les parlementaires, car la situation politique était trop grave pour qu'il fût possible de renoncer à leur appui" (p. 35).

In spite of Francis, however, Berquin was burned to death. Our author

tells us: "Ainsi donc, en dernière analyse, François ne saurait être rendu responsable de la mort de Berquin. Singulier spectacle d'une monarchie qu'on croit toute puissante, qui s'efforce d'imposer sa volonté et si souvent doit abdiquer! François I^{er} pouvait se montrer absolu en bien des cas, il prenait fréquemment des mesures arbitraires en matière administrative et financière, mais dans les questions religieuses il lui fut impossible d'agir à l'encontre de la Sorbonne et du Parlement, qui se trouvaient en conformité sur ce point avec l'opinion publique" (p. 43).

We are told how Francis was not content with simply encouraging men of learning, but gave them public office. Among such men were Jacques Colin, Antoine Macault, the two Marots, Guillaume du Bellay and others. We are also informed of the founding of the office called "lecteurs royaux," and are given the names of the recipients of that office.

It is impossible here to give a complete summary of the activity of Francis I. Besides, it is not so much the events, which after all are well known to most of us, but the views of the king which interest us. We see him occupying himself with the trials of the humanists at moments when he is most entangled in political difficulties. The famous "affaire des placards" finds its place in our volume. In a discourse pronounced by Francis soon after the affair, he asks "d'éviter les accusations formulées à la légère." A little later, however, he issues an edict against the "recéleurs de luthériens," threatening them with the same penalties as the Lutherans themselves. "De toute maniere," Heubi tells us, "l'affaire des placards doit être considérée comme une grande maladresse, propre à exciter le roi et à lui faire prendre des mesures de rigueur . . . *L'Histoire ecclésiastique* elle-même, dont les auteurs étaient protestants, déclare que la situation, qui n'était point mauvaise pour les novateurs, fut gâtée par le zèle indiscret de ceux qui affichèrent les placards" (p. 68).

In order to exculpate himself in the eyes of the German Protestants, Francis invited Melancthon to come to France "pour y jeter les bases d'une entente religieuse." The Sorbonne, on the other hand, was opposed to the king's plans, and the interview was made impossible. Melancthon, too, met with opposition on the side of the elector of Saxony, who refused to grant him permission to come to France. In the case of Calvin, likewise, we are reminded that the king looked with disfavor upon his ideas, which were too absolute. Besides, his name was surely mentioned to the king in connection with the "affaire des placards." The attitude of Francis did not change, however, toward the humanists. It is only when Montmorency's power was in the ascendant that the king's measures became more imperialistic.

The favorable attitude of the king toward the Protestants of Germany is explained by the fact that it was the king's greatest ambition to humiliate Charles V. and here was a way of doing it right at hand. It is not a conciliation in the question of religion that Francis seeks. "Nous croyons donc qu'il s'agissait pour François I^{er}, non pas d'amener une entente en France même, mais simplement de se rapprocher des protestants d'Allemagne pour tenir Charles-Quint en échec." But Montmorency put a quick end to this policy at Nice, and at Aigues-Mortes. Measures against the Lutherans began to follow in rapid succession. Montmorency went so far as to take measures against Margaret of Navarre herself!

In the meantime Francis I. granted privileges to the printers and to the

"lecteurs royaux." He also drew to his court the most prominent humanists of France and even of Italy. Did he do this simply because he was interested in the movement? Heubi sees in it something more: "Il faut sans doute tenir compte de ses goûts, mais il nous semble aussi que *sa politique* a été trop réaliste pour qu'il n'ait pas vu plus loin. A ce point de vue, son œuvre est nettement centralisatrice: par l'institution des lecteurs royaux, par celle des imprimeurs du roi, par la création du dépôt légal, par tant de nominations à des charges effectives ou à des titres honorifiques, *il avait prise sur les humanistes et pouvait exercer sur eux un certain contrôle*" (p. 95). The intellectual élite, therefore, occupied in the affairs of the time, such a place that it forms one of the most essential elements of the reign of Francis I. It is this point of view, perhaps, which is one of the strongest contributions of the present volume.

The Ramus affair is also discussed at some length. Heubi considers it as very interesting from the standpoint of the position of the king. "Le roi de France intervenant dans un conflit tout philosophique en usant de son autorité pour instituer une sorte de duel, puis, à l'issue de ce duel, sanctionnant par un édit la défaite de l'un des champions: ce spectacle est vraiment caractéristique de l'époque, ainsi que des goûts de François I^{er}." Heubi explains that the king's conception of humanism was always in a way "pragmatiste." It is natural, then, that he should have pronounced against Ramus, who attacked the philosopher whose influence the Church had undergone. In attacking Aristotle, Ramus injured the authority of the Church, and wishing to avoid or rather put an end to all discussions, the king sentenced Ramus. In the case of Rabelais, too, the king intervened. At no time of his reign, as we have seen, was Francis really the master of the Faculty of Theology, or of the Parlement.

The last years of the king's reign witnessed many measures of repression, in the question of religion. Execution followed execution. The court, too, was in a state of dissension, and the Sorbonne got the upper hand. The king's death came in the midst of all these disturbances. Heubi dismisses the question of the king's malady in but a few words.

The last chapter of the volume, on the judgment of the contemporaries of Francis I., throws a very interesting light on the career of the king. The author shows how the opinions of a man like Duchâtel, who pronounced the funeral oration, and those of Sleidan, an antipapist, and a German, coincided in exalting Francis I. as a scholar and as a man of very keen intelligence. In conclusion Heubi writes: "En somme, François I^{er}, c'est la Renaissance française elle-même, dans ce qu'elle eut de brillant sinon dans ce qu'elle eut de profond; c'est une nature toute spontanée et primesautière, avec une vivacité bien française qu'on retrouve chez Henri IV., et que la maladie put seule atténuer. . . . François I^{er} combattit encore la Réforme pour ce principe de libre examen explicitement contenu dans le luthéranisme, implicitement dans le calvinisme, et dont il pouvait prévoir les applications en matière politique. . . . Quoi qu'il en soit, François I^{er} a exercé une profonde influence sur la France et sur la littérature française; s'il a prétendu empêcher une évolution intellectuelle de se produire, il s'est trompé. Mais il a été un roi éminemment français; ses défauts et ses qualités portent le marque du pays qui fut le sien. Non seulement par ses actes, mais encore par sa personne même, par la souplesse de son intelligence et par les grâces de son esprit, il a joué un rôle fort brillant dans l'histoire de France."

M. Heubi deserves great credit for handling the enormous material so skil-

fully, and for giving such a readable and at the same time scholarly treatment of the subject. The index of proper names is also a valuable asset of the book. The author errs a little, perhaps, on the side of too frequent repetition of the thesis he is seeking to defend, but that is not easily avoidable in such a case.

HELEN J. HARVITT

Bibliografia delle stampe popolari italiane: Vol. I, Stampe popolari della Biblioteca Mariana. By ARNALDO SEGARIZZI. Bergamo, Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1913. Pp. xiv + 356.

It is now exactly a century since Stendhal began the writing of his letters from Rome, Naples, and Florence. We have had to see the Italian character reacting to the conditions of its new nationalism in order to test the truth of those general estimates of Italian life which Stendhal, with such extraordinary acumen, succeeded in forming in the chaos of 1817-20. If, then, in a few trenchant paragraphs, he was able to forecast what was to be the history of Italy's social consciousness, he was equally brilliant in his isolation of what criticism is coming more and more to recognize as the distinctive and typical essence of Italian literature. Not in Foscolo, or Monti, or Alfieri, but in Buratti, in Porta, in Grossi, Stendhal sees the genius of Italy expressing itself in most definite outline. And what Stendhal here says of the early nineteenth century can be affirmed with equal truth of the thirteenth and of the twentieth. From Cielo d'Alcamo to Salvatore di Giacomo there runs an uninterrupted and ever fresh current of regional literature, a current that flows now with indifference, now with responsiveness to the great intellectual artistic forces above and around it. In a Meli, we find it disciplined with art and turned to the purposes of high artistic expression; in a Belli it gushes forceful and wild from its springs in popular life and manners. But whatever the conditions under which it reveals itself, regional literature retains its intimate and vital relation to the local spirit, to that individuality which is the basis of Italian character.

We can have, in the last analysis, no adequate grasp of Italian civilization till we have measured its most universal creations on the background of the regional, the personal characteristics which are its constituent elements. The regional types have indeed been deeply studied as they have appeared in men remarkable either through the bulk of their production or through the power of their individual minds; and again the folklorists have with great thoroughness and patience gathered extensive data on the spirit of Italian regional life as it appears in the living manners and customs of the people. Between these two fields lies another that has been only incompletely explored, a literature too humble in its artistic forms to have attracted esthetic interest, at the same time too occasional in origin and too personal in touch properly to enter into folklore itself.

It is not that "popular" literature has failed to receive distinguished attention; but rather that a comprehensive study of it has been impossible through vague notions as to its real bulk and vaguer notions as to its accessibility. What were those "amorous songs printed" that Coryat saw dispensed by the charlatans of St. Marks? What were the *barzelette*, the *novelle*, the *sonetti* recorded by Garzoni? Where are the quatrains of Basnatio Sorsi on the Venetian carnival "decipà in le stampe dei moccini" and "pubblicà in ogni canton"? Where are the songs of Paolo Briti, the blind poet of the people, so scorned by the acade-

micians, so loved by the populace? The mass of course of this daily output, this momentary reflection of popular judgment on the affairs of the hour, has perished. Much of it on the other hand survives. But how much and where?

A systematic attempt to answer these questions has been begun under the leadership of Francesco Novati. This first volume, dealing with the materials in the Marciana, is a brilliant beginning for the enterprise. Here we have not simply a list of books, but a profusely illustrated volume which leaves a very definite impression of the general character of the literature of the various regions of Italy as well as of the artistic dress in which it was printed and divulged. Professor Segarizzi has not of course attempted a bibliography of dialect literature, nor has he tried rigidly to define "popular" literature. He has gathered those publications which both from content and from manner of publication demonstrate popular inspiration. It is clear that this double delimitation is a happy, and in fact, almost the only workable one. Without the restriction of typographical form the subject runs on indefinitely into folklore and occasional literature in general; without the restriction in content, it enlarges into the whole history of certain types of printing. The volume thus calls attention to the materials not accessible through author catalogues or through the bibliographies of special subjects.

The possessions of the Marciana are richest in prints relating to the Venetian region. In these, naturally, the local strain is most in evidence; but the great predominance of more universal appeals in the numerous intrusions from other districts is self-explanatory. The general interest of their content was what gave them wings to travel, while the production of purely local occasion remained at home. Nevertheless the tendencies that appear in these titles seem too uniform to be explained by purely material causes. The history of the Italian national language seems directly to correspond to a more distinct "italianity" of the popular spirit of central Italy as it defines itself in these prints; while the Venetians seem to turn more intensely inward upon their own nationality, their own local glories. Perhaps the most curious block of titles in this collection is that relating to the regattas, a bibliography of the subject unique both for completeness and for accuracy of bibliographical description. And though Professor Segarizzi has systematically ignored works of known authors, the number of additions made to Gamba's collections for popular poets like Briti is surprising. As we run down into Tuscany the special contribution is to the legends of chivalry and of the church, the popular tale and the sacred play. For the south, the lyric is most prominent.

For the splendor of its typographical form and for the artistic conception of the content, the volume is typical both of the Bergamo publishers and of Professor Segarizzi's view of scholarship. Italian libraries have always been associated with a glorious tradition of erudite production, to such an extent even that library organization has somewhat languished. The many sided nature of all Segarizzi's work is best appreciated when we see the Querini-Stampalia museum and library arranged with every modern appliance for facilitating study. In addition to this, there has come from his study a rapid series of critical and historical works, noteworthy alike for rigor of method and for breadth of orientation. Within a year we have had from him the Bari edition of the Venetian *Relazioni* and now this first volume of the *stampe popolari*. Even if, for financial reasons, it proves impracticable that the successive volumes be in the same

sumptuous style, this first book will serve as a splendid witness to the beauty and richness of the subject.

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The Sonnets and Ballate of Guido Cavalcanti. With translation and introduction. By EZRA POUND. Boston, Small, Maynard & Co., 1912. Pp. xxiv + 119.

If we point out here some of the deficiencies of this edition and translation of selections from the works of Guido Cavalcanti, it is not because we fail to appreciate the enthusiasm that prompted the work, nor the ability and labor required to give us such rhythmical and condensed versions. The author writes with elegance and feeling and he shows a felicity and a sincerity in translation, that with better technical preparation in the Italian language and in the history of Italian thought may in the future lead to valuable contributions to the English reading public. The present volume is a failure simply from the lack of such preparation: for it reveals a fundamental misunderstanding of Cavalcanti's point of view, and too slight a grasp of elementary syntax and lexicography.

It is not that the author has not been vaguely conscious of the difficulties of his task. "It is conceivable," he says in his introduction, "that poetry of a far-off time or place requires a translation not only of word and of spirit, but of 'accompaniment,' that is, that the modern audience must in some measure be made aware of the mental content of the older audience, and of what these others drew from certain fashions of thought and speech." The existence of such a requirement, which to the author seems conceivably possible and to us patently obvious, has served, however, rather to disorient than to guide the analysis of these poems. For with the conviction that the grasp of the "accompaniment" is distinct from the "translation of the word," the author has been on the watch for "connotations alchemical, astrological, metaphysical, which Swedenborg would have called the correspondences"; whereas the real problem was to arrive at denotations, accurate and fixed. Guido, like Dante, uses a vocabulary that surprises by its geometrical precision, its technical luminousness. This fact is the great stumbling-block to any translator; for if, by enforced paraphrases or by varying synonyms, we lose the technical value of their terms, we are deprived of the most efficient key to the interpretation of their works.

It is true, however, that the threat of the author to initiate his audience into some of these mysterious connotations is not as serious as might appear. In his definitions of some half dozen words there is less of ominous symbolism than of commonplace misconception. "'Mente,'" he says, "is 'mind,' 'consciousness,' 'apperception.' 'Spiriti' are the 'senses' or the 'intelligences of the senses,' perhaps even 'moods' . . . considered as 'spirits of the mind.' 'Valore' is 'power.' 'Virtute,' 'virtue,' 'potency' . . . 'the efficient property of a substance or person' . . . 'emanation.'" In the discussion of "virtute," we do find indeed some astrology, for we are informed that in the Ptolemaic system, the stars had each its "virtue"; some "spiritual chemistry" appears along with this "logical astrology" in the assertion that "radium has the noble virtue of energy." Aside from passing reference to three or four lines, from one of which is derived "the *Paradiso* and the form of the *Commedia*," and on others of which Rossetti is entirely wrong and Carducci is "blasphemous," these definitions complete the critical apparatus of the translations.

Returning then to examine these definitions, which are indeed of prime importance to a successful translation of Cavalcanti, we find that of the three synonyms given for *mente*, the last, "apperception," contains an idea foreign to the philosophy of Cavalcanti's time; the second, "consciousness," had another very precise equivalent in "*anima sensitiva*"; and the first, "mind," still another (if we consider the word in its broadest current sense) in *intellectus*. On the definition of *mens*, the authorities under whom the Dugento poets were trained are in agreement. The *mens* is the *intellectus* in one of its operations, namely in the exercise of the discursive faculty, by which from data received through the senses it proceeds to the elaboration of the concept. This is quite distinct from "apperception." "*Spiriti*" are never "senses," and to Cavalcanti the phrase "intelligences of the senses" would have been a contradiction in terms. The *spiriti* are the media between the senses and the *intellectus*, media in which St. Thomas did not believe and which Dante came also, as it would seem, to reject. The author's attempt at *virtute* is a curious muddle of conflicting terms. How can a potency, in any rational use of philosophical terms, be an efficient property, inasmuch as it is precisely upon the efficient that the *potentia* operates in coming into act? *Virtù* is in fact in contradistinction to *potentia*; it is the faculty that has attained to the perfection of the *actus*. The line then which the author compares to radium, and in which he sees so much spiritual chemistry, the line

Vedrai la sua virtù nel ciel salita

contains nothing more than the picture of a blessed soul in the full fruition of its faculties. *Valore*, rather than "power," is the sum of the faculties considered both in *potentia* and in *actu*.

We must consider the translation on the basis of the accompanying texts (which apparently in some places represent the constitution of the author), else the value of these texts as a check for the interpretation of the translation is negative. Yet in sonnet four (*S'io priego questa donna che pietate*) for the line *e fatta modo di soavitate*, we find the translation returning to the variant *e fatta a modo di soavitate*: "And fashioned out in ways of gentleness." The confusion rests upon ignorance of the adverbial meaning of *modo*, "only." The sonnet *O donna mia non vedestu colui* is disfigured by a failure to know the use of *altrui* as an indefinite pronoun akin to *l'uomo*:

A guisa d'uno arcier presto soriano
 Acconcio sol per acidere altrui.
 "An archer is he as the Scythians are
 Whose only joy is killing some one else."

and again in the line

Che soglion consumar altrui piangendo.
 "As by all custom wear out other men."

If the first is awkward, the second is meaningless, in the context. Nor do we see any reason, even metrical, for the alteration of *soriano*. In v. 7 of *Io vidi gli occhi dove Amor si mise*, we have the alternatives *ch'Amor medesimo ne saria*

crucioso and *ch'Amor medesimo faria crucioso*. Here, however, the translator has crossed the variants, reading *ne faria*, which bears no apparent relation to the translation "That Love should mourn amid his victories." An example of the obliteration of Cavalcanti's precision and clearness appears in sonnet I, *Voi che per gli occhi miei passaste al core e svegliaste la mente che dormia*; the rendering "And start the mind from her brief reveries" destroys the premise with which Cavalcanti started. Vv. 6-7 read

Campa figura nova in signoria
E boce è quando mostra lo dolore.
"There's a new face upon the signory
And new is the voice that maketh loud my grief."

If the first of these lines has any meaning at all, it at any rate does not bring out the transformation in the *anima* that is explicit in *figura nova*, nor has the meaning of *boce* been divined. In sonnet V, *Gli miei folli occhi che'n prima guardaro*, the translation needlessly loses the coherence of the thought in the alteration of *folli* to "rash," in place of "mad" or the like; for the reason of this epithet is made clear in v. 14: *Che non dei mai sperar altro che morte*; where again we find an error in coherence by making *altro*, neuter, refer to *tal* (sc. *signor*) in vv. 13: "Thou'lt have none other one save only death." A curious lack of insight into text constitution occurs in sonnet VI, *Tu m'hai sì piena di dolor la mente*: for v. 3, the author reads *e di sospir che manda il cor dolente dicono a gli occhi*. . . . The best manuscript tradition reads *e li*, etc.; but at any rate the reading *ed i* is indicated by syntax and sense. The text is not clear to the translator, but he proceeds to leap the ditch by attributing the speech of the sighs to the eyes, in defiance both of syntax and sense: "Mine eyes cry out: We cannot bear the load Of sighs. . . ." This, however, is quite surpassed in sonnet IX, xx:

A me stesso di me gran pietà viene
Per la dolente angoscia, ch'io mi veggio
Di molta debolezza: quand' io seggio,
L'anima sento ricoprir di pene.
"I am reduced at last to self-compassion,
For the sore anguish that I see me in;
At my great weakness; that my soul hath been
Concealed beneath her wounds in such a fashion."

We have preserved the impossible punctuation of the author, who does not know what to do with the phrase *di molta debolezza*, so he inserts it in a clause by itself without dependence on the rest of the sentence, thus missing the delicate meaning of the original. In sonnet VIII, *Perchè non furo a me gli occhi miei spenti*, the translator does not see that *fosse*, v. 3, is second person singular; and here as in general, little success is shown in handling the various meanings of *nuovo*. The beautiful *Chi è questa che vien ch'ogni uom la mira* is spoiled by a bad rendering of *umiltà*, as "modesty"; by a useless quarrel with Rossetti over *Ch' a lei s'inchina ogni gentil virtute*, "For toward her all the noble powers

incline," where the translator's chemical, and electro-magnetic connotations, are purely imaginary; and by a bad choice of *voi* for *noi* in v. 13 the translation

But ye! There is not in you so much grace
That we can understand her rightfully.

is unintelligible. We have decided for reasons of space to conclude our citation of examples at sonnet X, *Deh spirti miei, quando voi me vedite*, where the luminous statement of the progression of amorous phenomena in the poet's being (. . . *'l core ha ferite di sguardo di piacere e d'umiltate*) is turned into nonsense by the rendering ". . . my heart is wounded By glance by fair delight and by her meekness."

The translator tells us in his introduction "I have lived with these sonnets and ballate daily month in and month out, and have been drawn deeper into them and daily into contemplation of things that are not of an hour. And I deem for this that *voi altri pochi* who understand, will love me better for my labor in proportion as you read more carefully." We suspect that these versions will succeed better with the many who do not understand than with "the few" who do; and we suggest that the translator might demonstrate his membership in this chosen group more clearly before he goes on to the satire of Carducci and Rossetti, or on to additional translations of Dugento poets.

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The editors of the *Romanic Review* regret exceedingly that delay in the transmission of proof-sheets, incidental to the outbreak of hostilities in Europe, has resulted in holding up together three numbers of the review in the process of publication. Numbers 3 and 4, completing the volume for the year, will appear shortly.

THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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NIMROD THE ASTRONOMER

LI CUMPOZ of Philippe de Thaon,¹ written in 1119 and important as the earliest monument of Anglo-Norman literature, possesses a special interest for the student of astronomy and chronology as being at once the earliest treatment of the subject in French and one of the latest expositions of the knowledge current in the period just preceding the advent of Arabic astronomy. Of the authorities whom the author cites,² three, Bede, Helperic, and Gerland, are the standard writers on these subjects in the earlier Middle Ages, and the citations are sufficiently specific to render easy a comparison with their works. A fourth, Turkils, though unknown to students of *Li Cumpoz*, is plainly to be identified with Turchillus compotista, an Anglo-Norman contemporary of Philip who wrote before 1117 a treatise on the abacus which is of much interest for the early history of the English Exchequer;³ but the quotations are not from this work and are evidently derived from a treatise on chronological computation, consisting of at least three books, which has not yet come to light.⁴ There remains a fifth, called

¹ E. Mall, *Li Cumpoz Philipe de Thaün mit einer Einleitung* (Strassburg, 1873); T. Wright, *Popular Treatises on Science* (London, 1841), pp. 20-73; Paul Meyer, *Fragment du Comput de Philippe de Thaon*, in *Romania* (1911), XL, 70-76. Cf. Ch. V. Langlois, *La connaissance de la nature et du monde au moyen âge* (Paris, 1911), pp. 2-3, 11.

² Incomplete list in Meyer, p. 72.

³ Ed. Narducci, in *Bullettino di Bibliografia e di Storia delle Scienze Matematiche* (1882), XV, 111-54. See Haskins, *The Abacus and the King's Curia*, in *English Historical Review* (1912), XXVII, 101-6; R. L. Poole, *The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1912), pp. 48-50.

⁴ G. L. Hamilton, who first suggested the identity of Turkils and Turchillus (*ROMANIC REVIEW* (1912), III, 314), made the mistake of thinking that Philip

Nebrot, Nebrod, Nebroz, Nembroz, or Nembroth, likewise unidentified by the commentators on Philip, who raises a number of interesting problems. Of the five passages in which he appears the first, at the close of the chapter dealing with Aries, reads :

1249 E ço Helperis dit
Pur veir en sun escrit
E Bede e Gerlanz
E Nebroz, li vaillanz.

At the close of the account of Leo, speaking of the significance of the lion's tail, Philip says :

1345 E ço truvum escrit
Que dans Nebroz le dit.

In the discussion *De saltu lune* we find :

2359 De ço trai a guarant
Maistre Bede e Gerlant,
Turkil e Helperi
E Nebrot, ki eissi
L'unt enquis e guardet.

Apropos of lunations he says :

2495 Ço dit Bede e Gerlanz
E Nebroz, li vaillanz,
E Helperis le dit,
Turkils en sun escrit,
E ens el quart chapitle
Que il fait del tierz livre.

Finally concerning the septuagesimal term :

3341 Eissi cum Gerlanz dit,
Nebroz en sun escrit.

To Philip, accordingly, Nebroz is an authority on astronomical and chronological matters of the same type as Bede, Helperic, Ger- cites the treatise on the abacus, which contains nothing on the subjects treated in *Li cumpos*. That the work of Thurkil here cited comprised at least three books is clear from ll. 2399 and 2500.

land, and Thurkil. No writer of this name, however, is known to have existed in the Middle Ages, and the form suggests at once the Νεβρώθ of the Septuagint and the Nimrod of modern versions of Genesis, whose name has furnished a fruitful field for the speculations and conjectures of orientalists.⁵ The Biblical Nimrod is, of course, no humble chronologer but a king, a mighty one upon the earth, a mighty hunter before the Lord. How can we make an astronomer out of him? An answer to this question would involve studies of the Oriental Nimrod legends which lie beyond the purpose of this article. An astronomer he had certainly become in men's minds by the sixth century, when Malalas makes him king of the Persians and their master in astronomy and astrology,⁶ and an astronomer he remained to the men of the Middle Ages. Astronomical tables under his name are known to have been current in Arabic, and his astronomy meets us in the twelfth century, when Philip's contemporary, Hugh of St. Victor, says, *Aiunt quidam Nemrod gigantem summum fuisse astrologum, sub cuius nomine etiam astronomia invenitur*. He is bracketed with Hyginus and Aratus by Honorius of Autun,⁷ probably also a contemporary of Philip, and in the following century the *Speculum Astronomie* says:⁸

Ex libris ergo qui post libros geometricos et arithmeticos invenitur apud nos scripti super his, primus tempore compositionis est liber quem edidit Nemroth gigas ad Iohathonem discipulum suum, qui sic incipit: *Sphera celi*, etc., in quo est parum proficui et falsitates nonnullae; sed nihil est ibi contra fidem, quod sciam.

⁵ See Cheyne's article in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* and the authors there cited.

⁶ *Chronographia* (ed. Bonn), p. 17: Περὶ τὸν ἐπρωτεύοντα διδάξας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀστρονομίας καὶ ἀστρολογίας, τῇ οὐρανίᾳ κινήσει τὰ περὶ τοῦς τικτομένους πάντα δῆθεν σημαίνοντα. Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, XVI, 4, 10, 11, knows Nimrod only as the founder of Babylon. So also Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, I, 6; *De cursu stellarum*, c. 3 (ed. Arndt-Krusch, pp. 36, 858).

⁷ Steinschneider, *Zum Speculum astronomicum des Albertus Magnus*, in *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik* (1871), XVI, 380; id., *Die europäischen Uebersetzungen aus dem Arabischen*, in *Vienna Sitzungsberichte phil.-hist. Kl.* (1905), CLI, 43. The passage in Honorius of Autun will be found in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CLXXII, 59.

⁸ Alberti Magni Opera (Paris, 1891), X, p. 629; critical edition of this passage in *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum*, V, p. 86; full commentary by Steinschneider, *loc. cit.* The *Speculum* has been generally attributed to Albertus Magnus, but a strong argument for Roger Bacon has been made by Mandonnet, in *Revue néo-scholastique* (1910), XVII, 313-35.

Contrary to Cumont's opinion,⁹ the work of Nimrod the giant is, in its mediaeval form, still extant, in two manuscripts neither of which appears to have been examined in this connection. One, MS. Lat. VIII 22 of the library of St. Mark's at Venice,¹⁰ has the *incipit* cited in the *Speculum astronomie*; the other, MS. Pal. Lat. 1417 of the Vatican,¹¹ has a different beginning, but agrees in the body of the treatise. The correspondence between the two is close throughout the first part of the work; in the latter part the Venetian MS. has a fuller treatment of the planets and constellations but lacks the meteorological chapters with which the other concludes. I do not find in either the fable of Taurus mentioned by Honorius of Autun or the account of Leo for which Philippe de Thaon cites Nebroz as his source in the only instance where he seems to be directly followed.¹² Evidently there are problems here which require further manuscript evidence.¹³

Both MSS. have, evidently as part of the original text, numerous figures, of which the most notable are the series of constellations in the Venetian codex. At the beginning of the treatise an

⁹ *Catalogus codicum astrologorum*, V, p. 86 n.

¹⁰ Classis XI, Cod. 73; Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca manuscripta ad S. Marci Venetiarum*, IV, p. 255. The MS. is clearly of the thirteenth century, not as the catalogue says of the fifteenth. The treatise extends from f. 1 to the middle of f. 36, where it ends abruptly after the description of Anticanus. The text begins: *Spera celi quater senis horis dum revolvitur omnes stelle fixe celo quem (sic) cum ea ambiunt circa axem breviores circulos efficiunt. Igitur que polo apparet vicinior inter omnes, tam ei splendor est precipuus, ipsa noctium hor[arum?] computatrix dicitur argumentum eminentium (sic) cardini oppositum. Recta linea si serves luminum intuitu horas noctis nosse potes galli sine vocibus. Then after a figure of a man observing the pole, Incipit liber de astronomia. De forma celi et quomodo decurrit inclinatum. Celum igitur inclinatum. . . .*

¹¹ The treatise occupies the nineteen folii of the MS., which is written in a clear hand of the twelfth century, with the headings in red. It bears the title in a modern hand, "*Ptolomei tractatus ad sciendum horas dierum ac noctis.*" The introductory matter was evidently lacking in the fifteenth century, when the contents of the volume were thus given at the bottom of f. 1: *Libellus pulcher Besde de situ et dispositione stellarum et signorum celi; libellus seu tractatus Ptolomei regis ad sciendum horas diei et noctis; tractatus de distributione climatum mundi et de terminis septem climatum.*

¹² Lines 1315-1346. Some of these lines reappear in the description of the lion in Philip's *Bestiaire*, ed. Walberg, lines 25 ff.

¹³ MS. Ashmole 191, f. 46, of the Bodleian contains only a brief extract from the "*Liber responsonum magistri Nemroth ad discipulum Ioaton*", beginning, *Dico enim quod de oriente. . . .*

interesting drawing, much better in the Vatican MS., represents side by side the two kings, Atlas and Nimrod, whom classical and oriental tradition respectively makes the founders of astronomy. Atlas is depicted standing on the Pyrenees and bearing on his shoulders the firmament with its stars, while Nimrod stands on the mountain of the Amorites and looks upward while he supports in his hands the heavens without stars. The inscriptions read: *Athlas magnus astrologus rex Ispanensium vegens humeris suis celum inclinatum cum stellis. Nemroth inspector celorum ac rex Caldeorum vegens manibus celum inclinatum sine stellis.* Probably a paragraph on the preceding page, now lost, of the Vatican MS. explained Nimrod, as a quotation from St. Augustine at the top of this page explains Atlas.¹⁴ The work proper then begins in both MSS.:

De forma¹⁵ celi et quomodo decurrit inclinatum.

Celum igitur inclinatum volvitur a meridiano usque in septentrionem super terram et de septentrione ad meridianum sub terram et in rotunditatem suam volvens sese inclinatum et quasi¹⁶ eversum¹⁷ videtur, directum¹⁸ per preceptionem creatoris creature. Ut homo opifex bonus¹⁹ instruens palatium, qui primum mensurat locum et fodit fundamentum et edificat ordinabiliter illud donec adimpleatur²⁰ edificium suum, ita et Nemroth mensuravit omnem causam celi per suum intellectum et posuit fundamentum super quod edificavit ordinem numeri per capitula superius denominata et²¹ dum perlegisset eadem semper in melius construxit. Et omnia ista capitula se invicem condecorant ut bonus opifex qui edificium suum ordinanter disponit. Primo in edificio fit²² fundamentum in²³ terra et primo capitulo expositio minima celo verso sine stellis et post hec apparebit numerus.

ii. *De una virtute qua dicit Nemroth quia²⁴ sustinet celum*

Et dum recordaretur Nemroth formam celi cognovit quod habuisset creatorem non agnoscens^{24a} quis esset. Et vidit celum volvens in semetipsum²⁵ non exiens de loco suo et agnovit quod non habuisset²⁶ de subter²⁷ quod illud impedisset nec desuper per quod suspenderetur, et in hoc non potuit dicere aliud nisi quod²⁸ virtus sit que hoc

¹⁴ *De civitate Dei*, XVIII, c. 39 (ed. Hoffmann, II, 330).

¹⁵ *Vat.* fortitudine.—¹⁶ *Ven.* quod = *Vat.* om.—¹⁷ *Vat.* reversum.—¹⁸ *Vat.* directum est per preceptum creatoris opifex.—¹⁹ *Ven.* bonum.—²⁰ *Vat.* adimpleat.—²¹ *Vat.* omits et . . . construxit.—²² *Vat.* sit.—²³ *Vat.* om.—²⁴ *Vat.* que.—^{24a} *Vat.* sed non cognovit.—²⁵ *Vat.* semetipso.—²⁶ *Vat.* erat.—²⁷ *Vat.* subter.—²⁸ *Vat.* quia.

sustinet. Et eam nominavit²⁹ fortitudinem sustentem celum et stantem sub nullo, ut admiranda sit scientia Nemroth quod mensurasset formam celi et cognovit cursus³⁰ signorum et circulos stellarum et fundamentum terre et non agnovit quod Deus creasset eam. Sed et hoc³¹ cognovit quod²⁸ desuper creatura fortis et dominatrix sit et nominavit eam creatorem, et depinxit et scripsit omnia secundum similitudinem suam, ita ut qui tunc fuerunt voluerunt illum habere ut deum propter suam virtutem et scientiam, dicente illo occulta in compoto astronomie. Et cognovit Nemroth quod²⁸ celum fuisset purum et post hoc factus est sol et luna et omnes stelle celi.³²

Chapters follow *De .iiii^{or}. ventis; De duabus fortitudinibus, De .xii. fortitudinibus, De .vii. fortitudinibus*, varied by the insertion, without credit, of the chapters on earthquakes and Etna from Bede's *De naturis rerum*.³³ The more specifically astronomical part of the work then begins with a brief account of the *axis celi* and the zodiac, succeeded by chapters on the planets, the Pleiads, the sun and its eclipses, and the moon and its eclipses. In the midst of the account of the moon there is evidently a lacuna in the Vatican MS.³⁴ where the Venetian MS. takes up the several planets and their motions. Both then agree in the portions treating of the hours of the day, epacts, concurrents, and days of the week, after which they finally diverge. The Venetian codex devotes the remaining ten pages to a description of the constellations, to the number of forty-three, accompanied by drawings which should have interest for the student of mediaeval astronomy.³⁵ None of these are found in the Vatican MS., which proceeds to consider the nature of clouds, thunder, lightning, and the rainbow. Save for the quotations from Bede and the section on the constellations, both MSS. maintain throughout the form of a dialogue between Nimrod and Ioathon, who first appears in the fifth chapter. There is very little that could be called

²⁹ *Vat.* nominavit eam.—³⁰ *Ven.* cursum.—³¹ *Ven.* om.—³² *Vat.* omits celi.

³³ Cc. 49, 50 (Migne, *Patrologia*, XC, 275–278). C. 51, "Divisio terre", also appears on f. 8 of the Vatican MS.

³⁴ F. 12, where the heading, *De luna .i. usque in .xv. quot punctos luceat donec veniat in potestate noctis*, does not correspond to the text, which assumes a preceding discussion of the planets.

³⁵ This part of the text begins with the typical description (f. 31v): *Helix, Arctus malorum, habet autem in capite stellas obscuras vii., in spatula .i., super pectus .i., in pede .i., in dorso .i., in tibia inferiore .ii., super cauda .iii., sunt omnes .xvi.* The treatment is quite different from that of Hyginus.

astrological, although the concluding chapter, found only in the Vatican MS., seems to presuppose such a treatment :

Quod interrogavit Ioathon magistrum suum et non dedit ei responsum.

Et postquam exposuit Nemroth Ioathon discipulo suo quid sit arcus pacis vel unde est, interrogavit eum dicens, Magister, cognovi quod exposuisti mihi quid sit arcus pacis vel unde fit. Tunc prevenit eum infirmitas mortalis et dum vidisset Ioathon magistrum suum Nemroth quia moreretur, venit et cecidit ad pedes eius dicens, Magister, nimis tristis effectus sum quia dum habui patrem efficior orphanus et post divitias multas nunc veniet michi paupertas et post virtutem quam habui ero debilis. Respondit Nemroth dicens, Ioathon, fortasse non erit ita ut putas. Respondit Ioathon dicens, Magister utique ita erit. Numquid quod a te didici non est veritas? Et si verus est compotus quem ostendisti mihi pro infirmo, ipse significavit mihi mortem meam. Ait illi Nemroth, Ioathon, omnia que docui te vera sunt et compotus qui est super infirmum non erit tibi in aliquo error. Ego autem vadam ad patres meos et tu venies postea et ego ad te non revertar, quia ita hoc est quod nemo potest transgredi; et si habes aliquid ad interrogandum unde tibi cure sit interroga velociter antequam inebreetur anima de potu calicis mortis et antequam colligatur lingua et quietudine cursus sanguinis tollatur sensus per fortitudinem magni pavoris cum victus exieris de termino vite ad potestatem mortis. Respondit Ioathon dicens, Magister bone, de omnibus que ostendisti mihi aliquid cognovi, de vento autem aperte non exposuisti michi. . . . Usque huc interrogavit Ioathon Nemroth magistrum suum et non dedit illi responsum et dum interrogat de vento insufflavit in eum ventus mortis et non respondit ei ullum verbum et dimisit doctrinam suam aliis.

It is plain, merely from the extracts here given, that the author of the treatise does not speak in the name of Nimrod but bases his work upon a dialogue between Nimrod and Ioathon which he supplements and modifies. He refers to *alii doctores qui fuerunt post Nemroth*,⁸⁶ and in two passages cites a certain Alexander.⁸⁷ The

⁸⁶ Et alii doctores qui fuerunt post Nemroth et Ioathon exposuerunt obscuritatem que apparet in luna. Nos autem modo exponimus subterius in loco oportuno. Vat. MS., f. 6v.

⁸⁷ *Ib.*, f. 2v: Nam quod ipse dixit quia discurrunt inter signa disposuit Alexander dicens quia iste fortitudines quas ait ipse Nemroth ipse sunt quas exposuit superius. F. 10 (= MS. Venice, f. 12v): *In quo signo currit luna ut exposuit Alexander.* Exposuimus superius in quo signo currat luna, nunc

Oriental touch is apparent, but there is no trace of Arabic terms or of the Arabic astronomy, so that the work is plainly anterior to the introduction of Saracen learning into Latin Europe. Words like *planetes* and *sinodus* and the passage (gloss?) on the Pleiads³⁸ show a certain amount of Greek influence,³⁹ but the style is not that of a direct translation, and the quotations from Augustine and Bede show that the matter was worked over in the West.

The dialogue bears clear traces of Syrian origin, for the disciple Ioathon or Ioanton⁴⁰ can be none other than the fourth son of Noah who appears as Ionton, Ionaton, Ionites, Ἰώνητος, Τιώνητος, Μονήτων, and Munt in Christian writers of the Middle Ages. Unknown to the Hebrew tradition, he is found in works of Syrian origin and in these only,⁴¹ and is there brought into direct relation to Nimrod. Thus in the *Cave of Treasure*, which is probably of the sixth century, Ionton is visited by Nimrod in the land of Nod and teaches him that wisdom and learning of the stars which the Persian call the oracle and the Romans astronomy.⁴² Similar and apparently related is the account which appears toward the close of the seventh century in the *Apocalypse* of the Pseudo-Methodius,⁴³ where we read that Noah sent his son Ionitus to the east, to the

ostende mihi sicut Alexander exposuit qui mensuravit et coequavit numero astronomie.

³⁸ MS. Vat., f. 10v: Pliades vii stelle splendide que post vere exoriuntur vel Pliades a pluralitate dicte, quia pluralitatem latine grece *apoloeton* (ἀπὸ πλεων?) dicitur. Pliades sunt multi vage stelle quas etiam Botrum apellant. Pliades vii fuerunt quorum nomina sunt Terope, Meropios, Cileno, Maia, Altione, Tagete, Electra. Dicte autem pliades *apo tu plictos* (cf. Isidore, *Etymologiae*, III, 70, 13: ἀπὸ τοῦ πλείστον), id est a pluralitate, sive a pluvia vel a mare, ut sint filie Athlantis et Pliadis.

³⁹ The accounts of the constellations in the Venetian MS., though based upon the Greek catalogues, are not directly translated. E. g. (f. 33v), equus qui et bellorum fons (i. e., Bellerophon); navis que apud Argivos Argo vocatur (f. 35).

⁴⁰ The *Catalogus codicum astrologicorum*, V, p. 86, cannot identify him.

⁴¹ So Sackur, who has collected the material relating to him in his *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen* (Halle, 1898), p. 15, 54, 64.

⁴² Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle* (Leipzig, 1883-88), I, p. 33 f. and notes.

⁴³ A critical edition of the Greek text, with studies of Latin and Slavic versions, is given by Istrin, *Otkrovenie Methodiya Patarskogo* in the *Čteniya* of the Historical and Archæological Society of the University of Moscow, 1897, parts 2 and 4. The Latin version is edited by Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte*, p. 59-96.

land of the sea and the sunrise, where God granted him the gift of wisdom so that he became the discoverer of astronomy and the teacher of Nimrod. Their relations continued friendly, and Ionitus wrote a letter to Nimrod prophesying the destruction of the dominion of the sons of Ham.⁴⁴ The astronomical attainments of Ionithon are described in greater detail in a third and considerably later Syrian source, the so-called *Causa causarum*,⁴⁵ but it was through the Pseudo-Methodius that he passed into the West and found mention in a number of chroniclers and other writers of the Middle Ages.⁴⁶ In all these sources Ionitus is the master and Nimrod the pupil, but the reversal of the relation might easily arise under the influence of the tradition which we find in Malalas and others that Nimrod was the founder of astronomy.

As regards the date of Nimrod and Ioathon our text stands in general agreement with the chronology of the Pseudo-Methodius, who mentions Ionites in A.M. 2799 and Nimrod in 3008:

Et ab initio seculi usque ad tempus Nemroth fortissimi et Ioanton discipuli sui in quo anno circumvixit Mercurius per omnia signa circulum .i., qui sunt .xxii. circuli et anni .iii. clxxxiiii. et ab ipso anno usque ad finem mundi currit.⁴⁷

This is the only indication on this point, and unfortunately the similar cycles given for each planet⁴⁸ throw no light on the date of the treatise itself, the years being in each case carried out to the close of the cycle next preceding A.M. 7000, doubtless on the theory

⁴⁴ Οὗτος δὲ ὁ Μορήτων (al. 'Ιώνητος, Τιώνητος) ἔλαβε παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ χάρισμα σοφίας, ὥστε πρῶτος ἀστρονομίας τέχνην ἐφεύρε. Πρὸς τοῦτον κατήλθε Νεβρώδ καὶ παιδεύθει παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀληθεῖ βουλὴν ἐφ' ᾧ βασιλεῦσαι αὐτόν. Istrin, text, p. 9 f.; cf. pp. 52, 77, and Sackur, p. 63 f.

⁴⁵ Kayser, *Das Buch von der Erkenntniss der Wahrheit* (Strassburg, 1893), p. 259 f.

⁴⁶ To the passages collected by Sackur, p. 64, should be added the *Summa philosophie* of Grosseteste, in Baur, *Die philosophischen Werke des Robert Grosseteste* (Münster, 1912), p. 275; and the Slavic material collected by Istrin and by Veselovsky in the *Russische Revue* VII, 130 ff. (= no. 10 of his *Razyskaniya*).

⁴⁷ MS. d'rt, apparently corrupted from c'rit, which appears constantly in this part of the text.

⁴⁸ MS. Venice, ff. 17-19v. Mars is carried to the year 6990, Mercury to 6936, Jupiter to 6912, Venus to 6922, and Saturn to 6800. The text of the numbers is quite corrupt.

which we find in the Pseudo-Methodius, that the end of the world will coincide with the close of the seventh millenary period. The same theory appears in the table of solar eclipses,⁴⁹ which is carried to the year 6995 :

Si vis scire in quo anno fit eclipsis, sume annos ab origine mundi, scito quot sunt, et subtrahe ex ipsis vi cc xc viiii, et quot remanent divide eos per decem et novem, et sicut scriptum est in rota ita invenies eclipsis solis in tempore ipsius.

There follows a table, but no *rota*, beginning, *In vi anno non erit eclipsis, in xxxiii anno erit eclipsis*, and so on at intervals of twenty-four years to *in dcxcvi anno erit eclipsis*. Here, however, the year 6299 is evidently chosen because it is the date of writing or at least of the beginning of the current nineteen-year period, which would bring the treatise between A.D. 791 and 810 according to the Byzantine era or between 807 and 826 according to the era of Antioch. With the ninth century the style and manner of treatment in general correspond. The home of the work should probably be sought in Gaul, where throughout the early Middle Ages relations were maintained with Syria⁵⁰ which have left literary monuments in the Latin version of the Pseudo-Methodius and in the translation of the legend of the Seven Sleepers by Gregory of Tours.

The various astronomical questions involved in Nimrod's treatise I cannot pretend to discuss, still less can I enter into the problem of its sources and its affinities with other works. My purpose has been merely to bring to light an unused source for the study of Byzantine and Syrian astronomy and for the astronomical and cosmological ideas current in western Europe in the early Middle Ages.

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⁴⁹ MS. Vat., f. 9; MS. Venice, f. 11v.

⁵⁰ See particularly Scheffer-Boichorst, *Zur Geschichte der Syrer im Abendlande*, in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* (1885), VI, 535 ff.

STORM-MAKING SPRINGS: RINGS OF INVISIBILITY
AND PROTECTION.—STUDIES ON THE SOURCES
OF THE YVAIN OF CHRÉTIEN DE TROIES

(SECOND ARTICLE)¹

CLOSELY connected with the belief in storm-making bodies of water, which is so widely attested, is the belief in the efficacy of certain magical rites performed with water, and causing atmospheric disturbances, generally to the detriment of others. The virtue of the water is no longer due to its specific nature; the water is simply a vehicle of sympathetic action. In logical language it is no longer the efficient, but the material cause of the phenomenon. These rites are quite distinct from mimetic magical performances, used to obtain rain. We find in a story collected among the Fox Indians of Iowa, a branch of the Algonkin stock, a magician, who by dipping the skin of a certain small animal, which possessed magic virtues, under the water and skimming it along, brought on a wind, under cover of which he and his friends escaped from their enemies.² In a Ten'a tale, collected in Alaska, a woman, to escape her pursuer, stroked the tops of the long marsh-grass, growing through the ice in a lake she was crossing, to bring on wind and snow to cover her tracks.³ Among the Guanches, the former inhabitants of the

¹ Cf. *Romanic Review*, II, 355-373. Some of my references are *loca classica*, which have been used by various scholars for three hundred years. But from my own reading I have been able to add my quota to the material of which the most extensive collections are to be found in the recent studies on the same general subject of F. F. v. Andrian, "Ueber Wetterzauberei," *Mittheilungen der Anthropolog. Gesellschaft in Wien*, XXIV (1894) and Sir J. G. Frazer's *Golden Bough*, 3d ed. Part I, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, I (1911), 244-331, and I approach the subject from a somewhat different point of view.

² W. Jones, *Fox Texts* (Publ. of the American Ethnological Soc., I) 11, 13, cf. 10, n.

³ J. Jetté, "On Ten'a Folk-lore", *Journ. of the Roy. Anthropol. Inst.* XXXVIII (1908), 303. The translator in his elaborated version of the tale (331) understands that the wind is charmed up to drift the snow over the tracks, an unnecessary interpretation, in the light of the Fox tale, and a Navajo snow-charm I shall have occasion to cite.

Canary Islands, the members of a community of nuns^{3a} played an important part in a ceremony which took place on occasions of public calamities, such as a drought. Accompanied by the population^{3b} or alone,^{3c} they went to the sea-shore, where they beat the waters with rods, raising loud cries to attract the attention of the god,^{3d} responsible for the condition of affairs, so he would correct them. The people of North Usegúhu, in Central Africa, regularly in a drought, sent for a rain-maker to the neighboring people of Usambara. He conjured up rain-clouds by stirring up water in a hole in a threshing-floor at the entrance of the village.⁴

Like this primitive African tribe, and many other races,⁵ the Greeks and Romans attributed wonderful powers to the priests and magicians of distant and, in their opinion, inferior peoples.⁶ Thus the ill-famed Telchines⁷ of Rhodes were credited with the power of stirring up storms, and causing rain and snow to fall, according to Diodorus Siculus.⁸ Herodotus⁹ tells how after a storm had destroyed some of the ships of Xerxes's fleet, the Magi used spells

^{3a} The passages respecting this order have been collected by R. Basset, "Recherches sur la religion des Berbères," *Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions*, LXI, 321.

^{3b} According to the statement of Glas who does not specify drought (*History of the Canary Islands*, in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, XVI, 819).

^{3c} Bérenger-Féraud, *Superstitions et Survivances*, I, 473; Basset, *loc. cit.*

^{3d} As in another rain ceremony, enacted by the nuns (Viana, *Antigüedades de las Islas Afortunadas*, Tübingen, 1883, 24; Markham, *The Guanches of Tenerife*, 29-30), in which the new-born children and animals were separated from their parents, that their prayers might move the divine powers to pity, a cause for similar ceremonies (Frazer, *op. cit.*, 287-9; D. Kidd, *The Essential Kaffir*, 42; J. Teit, "The Shuswap," *Mem. of the Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist.*, *The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, II, 681; *Journ. of American Folklore*, XXV, 298, cf. 302), the conjecture that the beating of the water was to punish the rain-god for his niggardliness, seems beside the mark.

⁴ F. Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha im Herzen von Africa*, 24.

⁵ Tylor, *Primitive Culture* (N. Y., 1883), I, 113-115; G. L. Gomme, *Ethnology in Folklore*, 42-48; *Folklore as an Historical Science*, 199, 346 ff.; Harnack, *Medicinisches aus der ältesten Kirchengeschichte*, 7; H. Gering, *Über weissagung und sauber in nord. altertum*, 11; V. Henry, *La magie dans l'Inde antique*, 141, 160; Haddon, *Head-Hunters*, 249-250.

⁶ H. Hubert, in Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.*, s. v. Magie, III, 2, 1497-9, 1500, 1509.

⁷ Cf. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, 1181-1210; F. G. Welcker, *Kleine Schriften*, III, 62.

⁸ V, 55.

⁹ VII, 191. On the difficulties of the interpretation of the passage "καταλ-δορτες γόηται οἱ Μάγιστοι ἀνέμους" cf. Macan, and How and Wells, *ad. loc.*

to calm the winds. The priestesses of Sena, an island off the western coast of France, could rouse up the seas and winds by the use of incantations, if we accept the account of Pomponius Mela.¹⁰ Apollonius of Tyana and his biographer Damis,¹¹ during their travels in India, saw two jars made of black stone, of which one contained rain-storms, the other winds. If India was troubled with a drought, there arose from the former, when opened, clouds which watered the whole land, but if there was too much rain, it was only necessary to shut the jar tight, in order to bring relief. But the jar of the winds—which Philostratus compares to the bag of Aeolus in its action—when opened sent out one of the winds to blow whenever and wherever the land was suffering for need of it.¹² It was a friendly native who showed the use of certain incantations and magical rites to induce rain which brought relief to the thirsty Roman army, when it was fighting in Mauretania in the reign of Claudius.¹³ According to one story it was an Egyptian magician Arnulphis, according to another, a Chaldaean¹⁴ Julian, who brought rain to the suffering Romans, while a violent hail-storm, and lightning, threw into confusion and destroyed part of the opposing army,

¹⁰ III, 48. S. Reinach's opinion that this passage of Mela is taken from a Greek geographical romance (*Rev. celt.*, XVIII [1897] 1 ff.; *Cultes, mythes et religions*, I, 195 ff.) is not accepted by C. Jullian, *Rev. des études anc.*, VI [1904], 258, n. 2. Cf. also G. L. Gomme, *Ethnology in Folklore*, 49, 101-2; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3d ed., Part I, v. II, 241, n. 1; *Rom. Rev.*, II, 270-1.

¹¹ Philostratus's source was the forged memoirs of Damis, who claimed to have been Apollonius's travelling companion (I, 3, p. 3, 28). The phrase of Philostratus *ἐμπαινεῖται φασί* renders a statement made in the first person plural in the original. Cf. E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 35-37.

¹² III, 14, p. 92, 30. Eusebius in his *Contra Hieroclem* has noted and held up to scorn this account of "*βροχάς τε καὶ ἀνέμους ἐν πλοῖσι*," capp. 18, 22, P. G. XXII, 824, 830. But then Eusebius as an orthodox Christian believed that demons inhabited the air (*Demonstr. evang.*, III, 7, 39, ed. *GrChrSchr.* 147, 5).

¹³ Dio Cassius, LX, 9. On the rain-making tomb of Antaeus in Mauretania cf. *R. R.* II, 372, n. 1; Basset, *art. cit.*, 316. The inhabitants of Media, on the advice of Ayesha, the widow of Mohammed, opened the prophet's tomb, so that it would be brought into direct connection with the angry heaven, which withheld the rain. As a result heavy rains fell at once (I. Goldziher, *Mohammedische Studien*, II, 313; on the Arab wish that rain fall on graves cf. Goldziher, *Arch. f. Religionsw.*, XIII, 20 ff.).

¹⁴ On "Chaldaeus" as a general term for a magician cf. Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura und die antike Zauberei*, 330-1.

in the famous battle against the Quadi in 173/4,¹⁵ during the reign of Marcus Aurelius.¹⁶

But Greece did not lack its own wonder-workers.¹⁷ The Agri-
gentine Empedocles, in a passage of his philosophic poem *De natura*,
which has been preserved to us, promises his disciple that he will
teach him to curb and bring on winds at his wish, and call up and
dismiss the rain at his pleasure.¹⁸ These verses may have been
the cause of the wonderful feats¹⁹ attributed to him, and the names
given him; *κωλυσανέμας* (μου)²⁰ and *Ἀλεξανέμας*.²¹ He hung up
asses' skins on the surrounding hill-tops, which drove away a de-
structive north wind, that, according to one story,²² was injuring the

¹⁵ Dio Cassius, LXXI, 8; Suidas, *s. v.* Arnuphis: Julianus; Claudian, *de VI Consol. Honor.* 340-6. This is the miracle attributed by Christian writers to the non-existent Christian "Thundering Legion", which has recently once more called out much discussion; cf. *Petersen, Mitth. d. röm. Inst.* IX (1894), 78 ff.; Harnack, *Sitz. d. Berl. Ak.*, 1894, 835 ff.; Domaszewski, *Rh. M.*, XLIX (1894) 612 ff.; Mommsen, *Hermes*, XXX (1895) 90 ff.; Petersen, *Rh. M.*, L (1895) 453 ff.; Domaszewski, *Neue Heidelb. Jahrb.*, V (1896) 122 ff. This miracle is matched by that of the battle of Frigidus (394), in which the prayer of Theodosius caused a heavy wind to drive back the weapons of the soldiers of the pagan Eugenius. The evidence collected by Baronius (*Annales*, ed. Theiner, VI, 133-5) was acceptable to medieval collectors of exempla (cf., e. g., J. A. H. Herbert, *Cat. of Romances*, III, 181; Benvenuto da Imola, *Commentum super Dantis Alighierij Comoediam*, III, 222). Christians could find the model for such miracles done in their behalf in that told in *Joshua*, X, 10.

¹⁶ Petersen has shown that Marcus was not present at the battle (*Rh. M.*, L, 458).

¹⁷ F. G. Welcker in his article "Einfluss der Luft und der Winde" published in 1832 in *Heckers Annalen*, XXIII, 164 ff., and reprinted in his *Kleine Schriften*, III (1850) 57-63, collected most of the instances, for which I cite recent critical texts and studies.

¹⁸ Laert. Diogenes, VIII, 59, 3-5; cf. Clem. Al., *Strom.*, VI, 30, 1-3; ed. *GrChrSchr.* II, 445. The passage has been discussed by H. Diels, *Sitzungsb. d. Berl. Ak.*, 1898, 407 ff., and translated in his *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 214.

¹⁹ Diels, *Sitzungsb. d. Berl. Ak.*, 1884, 344, n. 1; 1898, 409. The troubadours were not the first poets whose poetical phrasings were transformed into biographic details.

²⁰ Clem. Al., *loc. cit.*; Hesychius, *s. v.* κωλυς; Suidas, *s. v.* Ἀμώκλει; Ἀπρουν; δορά, Ἐμπεδοκλής.

²¹ Iamblichus, *Vita Pythag.*, §136; ed. Nauck, 99; Porphyry, *Vita Pyth.*, §29. The source is the earlier work of Nicomachus, cf. Diels, *F. d. V.*, 162. The name Πανσαμένος conjured up by ingenious editors of Plutarch from a corrupt passage (*Sympos.* VIII, 8, 1, p. 728 E) is not acceptable for many reasons. Cf. Diels, *BStB.*, 1898, 408.

²² Laert. Diog., VIII, 60. Suidas, as cited above.

crops of the fields, according to another,²³ his native city, from which he was reported to have also warded off a cloud burst.²⁴ A variant, or a rationalized form of the first story, is given by Plutarch,²⁵ according to which he blocked up a pass through which there had been blowing a south wind, injurious both to the fields and to health. The tragedian Sophocles was credited with charming away an immoderate wind,²⁶ while an Athenian family, the *Ευδάνεμοι*,²⁷ probably²⁸ furnished the celebrants of the service to the god *Ευδάνεμος*,²⁹ who calmed the raging winds. In Corinth there was likewise a family who, probably on account of certain sacrifices and formulas used by them to attain the desired aim,³⁰ were called wind-lullers, *Ανεμοκοῖτοι*.³¹ Finally, the later Pythagoreans attributed to their master the same protective powers against the wind, that had been attributed to Empedocles.³²

The Athenians sacrificed boiled instead of roasted meat to the

²³ Suidas, *s. v.*, 'Εμπεδοκλ. The phrase *πρὸς τὸ συλλαβεῖν τὸ πνεῦμα*, which is only found *s. v.* 'Απρῶς, must represent an accretion to the original story. As Welcker (61) thinks, the story had its basis in the magic use made of the skins of certain animals to ward off hail and lightning (*Geoponica*, I, 14-16), and to bring on rain (Frazer, *Golden Bough*, I, 287 ff.). The word *ἐξελάσαι* found in the accounts of Empedocles' wonder-working, is used as a part of compound words in technical phrases of the *Geoponica*; *παρελίσσεται* (I, 14, 4 and 6, p. 29); *ἀποπορευθῆναι* (I, 14, 8, p. 29). An ass was sacrificed to the winds on Mt. Taygetus according to Hesychius, *s. v.* *ἀνεμώτας*. The *Cyranides* does not tell for what particular magic use a ring was made of the skin of an ass's fore-foot (II, 15, 1; ed. de Mély et Ruelle, *Les lapidaires grecs*, 1898, p. 18). If Timaeus was the source of the account in Laertius, the more detailed account of Suidas, who also made use of the latter, was the *Vit. Soph.* of Porphyry; cf. Flach, *Rh. M.*, XXXV, 209-210.

²⁴ Philostratus, *Vita Apoll.*, VIII, 7, 8; ed. min. Kayser, I, 313, 20-21.

²⁵ *De curios.*, p. 515 C; *Adv. Colot.*, p. 1126 B.

²⁶ Philostratus, *loc. cit.*

²⁷ Hesychius, *s. v.*; cf. Toepffer, Pauly-Wissowa, I, 2180; Jessen, *ib.*, VIII, 1381.

²⁸ Usener, *Götternamen*, 259; *Rh. M.*, LIII, 346.

²⁹ Arrian, *Anab.*, III, 16, 8.

³⁰ Usener, *Götternamen*, 259-260.

³¹ Hesych., Suidas, *s. v.*; Bekker, *Anec. Gr.*, I, 397; Eustathius in *Od.*, X, 22; p. 1645.

³² Iamblichus, *V. P.*, §136; ed. Nauck, 99; Porphy., *V. P.*, §29. As Greek sacrificial ceremonies to the winds were influenced by Persian models (P. Stengel, "Die Opfer der Hellenen und die Winde", *Hermes*, XVI (1881) 348 ff.; *Die griechische Kultusaltertümer*, 2d ed. 115), it may be that magical practises felt the same influences (Cf. Welcker, *op. cit.*, 62-3).

seasons, praying them to avert severe heat and drought, and to send moderate heat and timely rain to ripen the growing crops.⁸³ This practice was in conformity to a primitive philosophy which attributed rain to a boiling process, that might be imitated successfully by certain magical rites, such as are found practised to-day among primitive peoples, have been attributed to European witches within two centuries, and survive as an article of contemporary popular belief.^{83a} The Greeks in sacrificing black victims to the winds as well as to the dead,⁸⁴ adopted the union or confusion of their attributes in popular conceptions, which have survived, fused with Christian demonology, almost to the present day. The patron god of Delphi did not need human invocations to incite nor human arms to help him in the defense of his sanctuary against the Persian invaders. Mardonius, the lieutenant of Xerxes, who was sent to destroy it, met his death there through a heavy fall of hail (*χαλάξης ἐπιπεσούσης παχέας*), according to Ctesias.^{84a} In Herodotus's account^{84b} of the same event, the fall of the thunderbolts from heaven on the invading army, was only one of several miracles by which the shrine was defended.

If, as early as the fifth century before the Christian era,⁸⁵ such pretences of magicians to control the elements were condemned by the Hippocratean author of the *De morbo sacro*,⁸⁶ the Roman legal code of Theodosius II, seven centuries later (321), followed by that of Justinian, especially excepted from the operations of the laws

⁸³ Philorchus, cited by Athenaeus, XIV, 72; p. 656 A.

^{83a} Frazer (*op. cit.*, I, 310) has noted the underlying conception according to which the water of the boiled meat was transmitted to the deities, but not its connection with primitive meteorological ideas.

⁸⁴ P. Stengel, *Zeitschr. f. Gymnasialwesen*, XXXIV (1880) 745; *Hermes*, XVI, 349.

^{84a} *Persicorum Excerpta*, 25, ed. Baehr, 70; cf. *Rh. M.*, LX, 144-5.

^{84b} VIII, 37-9. Of these miracles the appearance of the local heroes is an early instance of the aid given to their worshippers by military saints (cf. Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. V, 344-7; *R. R.*, IV, 235, n. 87); the landslide due here to divine power could also be caused by sorcerers and witches (*Fornsögur*, ed. G. Vigfússon, 59; Hansen, *Quellen*, 572 ff; *Kämpfen, Hexen und Hexenprocesse im Wallis* (Stans, 1867), 25, 46-49, 69-70. On these various stories as the inventions of Delphic priests cf. R. W. Macan, *Herodotus, Books VII-IX, ad. loc.*, and II, 234-6.

⁸⁵ Cf. Diels, *Sitzungsb. d. Berl. Ak.*, 1898, 408.

⁸⁶ Ch. I, p. 591, ed. Kühner.

against magical practitioners those who used their arts to bring on beneficent rain, or to drive away harmful hail.³⁷ Sotopater, once a favorite of Constantine, was ordered to be executed by the latter to please the rabble, who attributed to his magic powers the head-winds and calms which detained the corn-ships from Egypt and Syria.³⁸ If the Christian church at an early period gave to the celebrants of its mysteries an opportunity to use formulas and practise ceremonies, the latter often borrowed from pagan ritual, to bring on rain and keep off storms;³⁹ on the other hand, the codes of the Germanic peoples, which a Christian tendency inspired and influenced,⁴⁰ condemned on an equality with other enchanters the weather-wise, who were not hedged about with sacerdotal divinity, the "tempestarii,"⁴¹ and "immissores tempestatum,"⁴² who were said "suis maleficiis aëra posse conturbare et grandines immittere."⁴³ Clement of Alexandria⁴⁴ at the beginning of the third century and Eusebius of Alex-

³⁷ *Cod. Theod.* I, 16, 3; *Cod. Just.* 9, 18, 4; cf. Mommsen, *Römische Strafrecht*, 639, n. 2, 862-3. Hubert has noted the standard passages of Latin authors which refer to the magical protection of fields and vineyards (*op. cit.*, 1500, n. 16).

³⁸ Eunapius, *Vitae sophistarum: Aedisius*, p. 463; ed. Didot.

³⁹ A. Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter*, II, 3-19, 42-104.

⁴⁰ J. Hansen, *Zauberwahn, Inquisition und Hexenprozess im Mittelalter*, 54, 62. Epiphanius (*Adv. Haer.* LXVI, Migne, *Patr. gr.*, XLII, 65) does not charge the Manichaeans with causing storms, when he states that according to their doctrines "μη ἐκ Θεοῦ τοὺς θυβρὺς εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἀποβόλας ἀρχόντων," and that the clouds were due to the anger, and the rain to the sweat of the chief of the powers of the air, when in pursuit of a celestial maiden (*Ib.*, 76). This same meteorological myth was found among the Priscillianists and Origenists according to Orosius (*Commentarium de errore Prisc. et Orig.*, ed. Schepps; *Corp. Script. eccl.*, XVIII, 154). The eighth canon of the council of Braga (563; cf. Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, III, 15) condemned the belief, while equating the prince of the air with the devil (*Concilia*, ed. Hardouin, III, 349). There is nothing in these doctrinal attacks which justifies the statement that the Manichaeans themselves were guilty of storm-making, made by Heppé in his edition of Soldan's *Gesch. der Hexenprozesse* (I, 148), and not corrected in Bauer's revision (I, 130), although the facts are correctly stated in the original work (116), as far as the author's information took him.

⁴¹ *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. Boretius (*M. G. Leges*, Sect. II) I, 59, 2 (Charlemagne, 789); cf. 402, 29 (827); 104, 5 (802); cf. "qui tempestates . . . faciunt", *ib.*, 228 (Council of Reims-Freisung, 799); *Lex. Bajw. Add.* 6, 15; *M. G. Leges*, fol. III, 471.

⁴² *Lex Visigothorum*, VI, 2; ed. Zeumer (*M. G. Leges* Sect. I) 259; *Lex Romana Raetica Curiensis* (circa 850); ed. *M. G. Leges* fol. V, 372.

⁴³ *Capitularia regum Fr.*, II, 36 (*Addit. ad Hludowici Pii capit. ann. 829*).

⁴⁴ *Strom.*, VI, 3 *grChrSchr.* II, 446.

andria⁴⁵ in the fifth or sixth century,⁴⁶ held up to the contempt of their coreligionists the pagan belief that "hail-guards" (χαλαζοφύλακες)⁴⁷ were able to drive away hail and other atmospheric disturbances by magical practices. In the *Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos*, written between 365 and 378, probably by Diodorus of Tarsus,⁴⁸ the question is asked why, if the clouds give rain at the will of God, cloud-hunters (νεφοδιώκται) can direct clouds, hail and rain where they will, by the use of charms (ἐποιδίαις). The answer is that it is not scriptural and is incredible, and that the questioner is asking a question about something he has heard of, and not what he has seen.⁴⁹ A canon of the Quinisext⁵⁰ council, held at Constantinople in 692, subjected those called "cloud-hunters" (τοὺς λεκομένους νεφοδιώκτας), and others guilty of practising pagan customs, to a penance of six years.⁵¹

⁴⁵ *Serm.* xxii; Migne, *PG.* LXXXVI, 456. The devices used by such practitioners were summed up in the tenth century in a sceptical spirit by Cassianus Bassus (*Geoponica*, I, 14-16; ed. Beckh).

⁴⁶ J. C. Thilo, *Ueber die Schriften des Eusebius von Alexandrien und des Eusebius von Emesa* (1832), 55, 57, 80 (f); A. Mai, *Spicileg. Rom.*, X (1843) 1 ff.; *Nov. Patr. Bibl.*, II (1844) 499 ff.; E. von Dobschütz, *Hastings's Dict. of the Bible*, III, 545 (g); E. K. Rand, *Mod. Philol.*, II, 262-3.

⁴⁷ This name is not found in either of these Christian writers, but Clement localizes the practise at Cleonae in Argolis, as does Seneca in his fuller account (*Quaest. nat.*, IV, 6-7), where the latter used the Greek term found also in Plutarch (*Quaest. Conviv.* VII, 2; p. 700F.). Cf. J. G. Fraser, *Pausanias*, III, 83, 289.

⁴⁸ A. Harnack, *Diodor von Tarsus, Vier Pseudojustin. Schriften* (TU. XXI, 3) 1901, 33 ff. Harnack's results have been disputed by Funk, *Kirchengesch. Abhandl.*, III (1907) 323 ff.

⁴⁹ *PG.* VI, 1277. Franz, *op. cit.*, II, 28, misinterprets the passages; cf. Harnack, *op. cit.* 91.

⁵⁰ For the name cf. J. C. Robertson, *History of the Christian Church*, II, 439, n. m. *Concilia*, III, 1684. If five hundred years later, Balsamon in his commentary on the canons of this council, stated that the word meant seers who divined the future from the movements of the clouds (*PG.*, CXXXVII, 721), he is at variance with the earlier explanation of the *Quaestiones*, and yet he gives a possible meaning. For it must be remembered that the clouds as well as other natural phenomena, thunder, earthquakes etc. were the manifestations of the deity, which seers alone undertook to explain (cf. Iamblichus, *Vita Pyth.*, §135, ed. Nauck, 99); Ganschietz, *Hippolytos's Capitel gegen die Magier* (TU., XXXIX, 2) 1913, 48. The *Clouds* of Aristophanes owed its name to the procedure of similar practitioners; cf. W. Capelle, *Philologus*, LXXI, 439; F. G. Welcker, *op. cit.*, 59-60.

⁵¹ C. 61: *Concilia*, Hardouinus, III, 1684. The source of this canon, the

In a homily, attributed to Augustine, but written in the seventh or eighth century, probably on Gallic soil, directed against popular superstitious practises, warning is emphatically given that those

qui grandinem per lamineas plumbeas scriptas et per cornus incantatos avertere putant, isti non Christiani, sed pagani sunt.⁵²

Pir(ri)minius, abbot of Prüm (d. circa 753), in his *Dicta de singulis canonicis scarapsus* also discredited the belief in weather-makers:

Tempestarios nolite credere, nec aliquid pro hoc eis dare.⁵³

That truly enlightened man, Agobard, Bishop of Lyons, devoted his treatise *Contra insulsam vulgi opinionem de grandine et tonitruis* (circa 820)⁵⁴ to an attack on the same superstition, which was generally shared by people of all classes in his diocese. Against it he used all the weapons of scriptural authority, religion and intelligence, finding the belief in and fear of the powers of the "tempestarii" at once a bit of silliness and a blasphemy against the omnipotence of God. Their belief and fear were shown by their saying, when it thundered or the wind blew slightly: "Levatitia aura est," and "Maledicta lingua illa, et arefiat, et jam praecisa esse debebat quae hoc facit."⁵⁵ Nor did these impostors, themselves, fail to put forward their own pretensions to wonderful powers, and to demand due compensation for its use:

Haec stultitia . . . in tantum malum istud jam adolevit, ut in plerisque licis sint homines miserrimi qui dicant se non equidem nosse immittere tempestates, sed nosse tamen defendere a tempestate habitantes loci. His habent statutum quantum de frugibus suis donent, et appellant hoc canonicum.⁵⁶

twenty-fourth canon of the synod of Ancyra (314), does not specify this practise among the superstitious customs, subject to a penance of five years (*Concilia*, I, 280; cf. Hefele, *op. cit.*, I, 241). On the extension of the time of penance cf. Schmitz, *op. cit.*, I, 309-310.

⁵² C. P. Caspari, *Eine Augustin fälschlich beilegte [sic] Homilia de sacrilegiis*, c. V, p. 10; cf. for the practice, ib., 32-3; H. A. Saupe, *Der Indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum, ein Verzeichnis heidnischer und abergläubischer Gebräuche und Meinungen aus der Zeit Karls des Grossen, aus zumeist gleichzeitigen Schriften erläutert*. Leipzig 1891, 26-7.

⁵³ C. P. Caspari, *Kirchenhistorische Anekdoten*, I, 173.

⁵⁴ *PL.*, CIV, 147-158.

⁵⁵ *Ib.*, 154.

⁵⁶ *Ib.*, 156-157. It is noticeable that Agobard believes in his own magicians

This attack of Agobard seems to have been the source of the phraseology, if it did not furnish the inspiration, of the assault on the superstition by the Frankish bishop of Verona, Ratherius, in his *Praeloquia*, which he commenced writing while a prisoner at Pavia, 935-937. He assails those who

non solum malignis angelis, sed etiam quibusdam miserrimis hominibus illud (i. e. the misfortunes of Job) ascribens, quemlibet immisorem, aut propulsorem ut dicitur, tempestatum evocare, donisque, ut hoc medere dignaretur, placari.⁵⁷

In an Ascension sermon preached in Verona in 963,⁵⁸ he spoke against those who believed that "tempestatem ab homine fieri posse," and those "qui dicunt quod ipsi per incantationes suas tempestates

the saints; "Sancti Dei, qui multa obtinuerunt, et obtenturi sunt: quorum aliqui potestatem habebunt claudere coelum, ne pluat diebus prophetiae ipsorum, sicut Elias . . . exceptis, ut dictum est, sanctis . . . sicut saepe multi servorum Dei orationibus obtinuerunt, ut tempore siccitatis pluvias Dominus largiri dignaretur." *Ib.*, 153. A number of the innumerable examples of such miracles done by saints have been noted by P. Toldo, *Studien z. vergl. Literaturgeschichte*, VI, 310-330. It is the usual theological trick of finding an action miraculous in a saint, when it smacks of the devil when found elsewhere; cf. R. R., V, 67. For a Latin charm against rain and hail of the ninth century cf. S. Berger, *Mélusine*, III, 219. For similar charms cf. Ebermann, *Zeitschr. d. Ver. f. Volkskunde*, XIII, 115-116. Florus of Lyons, the ally of Agobard in a number of controversies (Cf. Manitius, *op. cit.*, 560, 565), in the commentary on the Pauline Epistles, his most widely known work (*Ib.*, 567), cites on Eph., II, 2 and VI, 12 (*PL.*, CXIX, 374, 382) two appropriate passages of St. Augustine (*Epist.*, Class. III, 217; *PL.*, XXXIII, 982; *Tract. in Joann. Evang.* LV, 13; XXXV. 1786) stating the orthodox belief in the demons of the air.

⁵⁷ *I.*, 4; *PL.*, CXXXVI, 158. The passage on the subject follows the much cited passage (E. G. Grimm, *D. M.*, 4th ed., I, 235; Hansen, *op. cit.*, 133, n. 1) in regard to the belief that a third part of mankind belonged to Hérodiades. Here again Ratherius is not attacking a local Italian superstition, as he cites for his authority a certain "Gen." who has been conjectured by Grimm to be Genadius Massiliensis (c. 500), who might well have referred to such a belief in his several works against heresies which have been lost. It does not appear in his *Epistula de fide mea* (ed. C. W. Turner, *Journ. Th. St.*, VII, 78), which has been supposed to be a summary of his *Adversus omnes haereses* (Teuffel, *Ges. d. röm. Lit.* 6th ed. 464, 12). On the other hand it is noteworthy that this particular trait of the tradition is only found again in the *Isengrimus* (II, 90). Nivardus of Ghent, who in 1151-2 (cf. Rom., XLI, 279) wrote his work in the Flemish speaking territory, not far from Ratherius's birthplace Cambrai. This trait is not found in the Italian popular beliefs attacked by Bernardino di Siena (d. 1444), Zachariae, *Zeitschr. des Vereins für Volkskunde*, XXII, 238, 238.

⁵⁸ *Ib.*, 733, n. 1521.

avertant." He shows himself more advanced in opinion than in his earlier work, going counter to the whole spirit of medieval Christian thought in denying a demoniacal cause to these storms, as being contrary to the omnipotence of God:

Intendat charitas vestra : Contra enim eos qui dicunt, quod homo malus vel diabolus tempestatem faciat, lapides grandinum spargat, vineta atque campos devastet, fulgura mittat, jumenta et pecora, ipsosque homines interficiat; contra illos, inquam, valet quod dicit: Non est qui de manu mea possit eruere.⁵⁹

But the popular belief was fostered rather than combatted by the "Penitentials," whether of Irish, Anglo-Saxon, Frankish, or Roman origin, which generally imposed a seven years' penance on "emissores tempestatum,"⁶⁰ and by such legislation as is found in one of the *Capitularies* of Herard, archbishop of Tours (858), according to which "tempestuarii" and other enchanter, were forbidden to practise their arts, and were subjected to public penance,⁶¹ and in the *De synodalibus causis et disciplinis ecclesiastici* of Regino, abbot of Prüm (906), which called for the punishment of these classes of people with every sort of penalty, and inflicted seven years of penance on the "immissores tempestatum."⁶² It is only in the collection of canon laws made by Burchard, Bishop of Worms, in 1020, that one finds a rational view of the superstition. If the compiler lays down the law,⁶³ speaking in general terms, that they and other enchanter be anathematized and rejected from the church, he changes the phrasing of the clause of Regino's work, so that anyone

⁵⁹ *Ib.*, 739. It must not be forgotten that while Ratherius attacked popular superstitions, he was a violent supporter of the basis of theological superstitions, the doctrine of transubstantiation (cf. R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought*, 80).

⁶⁰ Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen der Abendländischen Kirche*, 235, 272, 292, 367, 407, 413, 481, 533, 598; H. J. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und das Kanonische Bussverfahren*, I, 308, 460, 479, 577, 633, 811; II, 181, 238, 296, 321, 324, 342, 368, 627, 664.

⁶¹ *Concilia*, IV, 450. The source of this capitulary was a paragraph of the *Capitularia* of the Pseudo-Benedictus Levita (*M. G. Leges*, II, Pars 2, 136, II, 21), which was copied from the *Addit. ad Hludowici Pii cap.*, of which I have cited the pertinent phrase (*Supra*, 41), which Herard has defined with a single word.

⁶² Lib. II, capp. 353, 356; *PL.*, CXXXII, 350; cf. Schmitz, *op. cit.*, II, 377.

⁶³ X. 28; *PL.* CXL, 140; cf. Hansen, 86.

"qui credit ut aliqui hominum sint immissores tempestatum" should be subject to the penance reserved for the "immissores" in the original text.⁶⁴ In the Penitential known as the *Corrector*,⁶⁵ forming the nineteenth book of Burchard's work, which was probably the work of another earlier writer, which he had drafted into his own service, this penance is reduced to one year.⁶⁶ The text of Burchard's own interpretation passed into the *Decretum* of Ivo of Chartres (d. 1115),⁶⁷ and this was probably the reason why this particular form of magical practice was not even considered in later collections of canon law. A synod, held at Trèves in 1310, forbade people having recourse to "paganorum morem secutus ad divinos, sorciarios vel augures. . . contra grandines et tempestates",⁷⁰ one held in Prague in 1349 instructed priests to tell their parishioners frequently that charms "nihil posse. . . potestati tonitruorum vel grandinum providere".⁷¹ This method of attacking the belief at its root, adopted by ecclesiastical authorities, would have helped greatly in stamping out this relic of paganism, had not the spread of the witchcraft delusion, for which both Papist and Protestant sects were equally guilty, supplied substance for the revival and strengthening of the belief into a more concrete form than is to be found in Classical or Germanic antiquity.

In none of these preachings and prohibitions, legal and religious, does one find a suggestion of the magical rites that were used by the weathermakers. Agobard's earnest endeavor to find an eye-witness of the ceremony met with no success, as is told by him in a passage, which, as an account of scientific investigation, forms a contrast as pleasing as it is striking when compared with the methods used by later witch-hunters to ascertain the truth:

Possent quoque de inimicis suis se vindicare, non solum ablatione frugum, sed et vitæ ademptione. Quando enim contigit inimicos

⁶⁴ X, 8; *PL.* CXL, 140.

⁶⁵ For its source etc. Schmitz, II, 382-392.—Notes ⁶⁷ and ⁶⁸ suppressed.

⁶⁶ The oldest form of it has been printed, with variants from later manuscripts, by Schmitz, II, 425; for source of text cf. 402.

⁶⁷ Lib. XI, c. 36; *PL.* CLXI, 755. It passed into other penitentials, as into the eleventh century *Summa de judiciis omnium peccatorum*; Schmitz, II, 495; on date, 480.

⁷⁰ C. 61, Harzheim, *Concilia Germaniæ*, IV, 144.

⁷¹ C. 61, Harzheim, IV, 400. Harzheim wrongly attributes this synod to 1355, cf. Hefele, *Conciliengesch.*, 2d ed., VI, 689, n. 1.

Tempestariorum esse in itinere aut in agris, ut eos occiderent, posset multiplicatim grandinem super eos in unam congeriem fundere, et obruere illos. Nam et hoc quidam dicunt, nosse se tales Tempestarios, qui dispersam grandinem, et late per regionem decidentem, faciant unum in locum fluminis aut silvae infructuosae aut super unam, ut aiunt, cupam, sub qua ipse lateat, defluere. Frequenter certe audivimus a multis dici quod talia nosset certe in locis facta; sed necdum audivimus ut aliquis se haec vidisse testaretur. Dicitum est mihi aliquando de aliquo, quod se haec vidisse diceret. Sed ego multa sollicitudine egi ut viderem illum, sicuti et feci. Cum autem loquerer cum illo, et tentaret dicere se ita vidisse, ego multis precibus et adjurationibus cum divinis etiam comminationibus obstrinxi illum rogans, ut non diceret illud nisi quod verum esset. Tunc ille affirmabat quidem verum esse quod dicebat, nominans hominem, tempus et locum; sed tamen confessus est se eodem tempore praesentem non fuisse.⁷²

No other patristic writer had such an influence, other than doctrinal, on Occidental Europe for a thousand years after the fall of the Western Empire, as Isidore of Seville. The most specific proof of such an influence is to be found in the number and widely distributed area of the manuscripts of his works.⁷³ His *Etymologiae*, a synthesis of pagan learning, envisaged from an unsympathetic Christian point of view, was one of the chief sources of medieval scientific knowledge.⁷⁴ Who can estimate the effect on thirty generations of credulous, text-led churchmen, of the statement, in such an authority, that

Magi sunt, qui vulgo malefici ob facinorum magnitudinem nuncupantur. Hi et elementa concutiunt, turbant mentes hominum, ac sine ulla veneni hausti violentia tantum carminis interimunt. . . . Daemonibus enim adcitis audent ventilare, ut quisque suos perimat malis artibus inimicos.

If the truth of this statement needed further confirmation by the medieval mind, it could be found in such encyclopaedic works as the

⁷² *PL.*, CIV, 151-2.

Philol. des Mittelalters) 1-131.

⁷³ Cf. C. H. Beeson, *Isidor-Studien* (Quelle und Untersuch. zur latein.

⁷⁴ Manitius, *op. cit.*, 66.

⁷⁵ VIII, 9, 9; ed. Lindsay. It is a phrase from the *Cod. Theod.*, 9, 16, 4, for which Constantine was responsible.

*De rerum naturis*⁷⁶ of Hrabanus Maurus (c. 842), and the *Policraticus*⁷⁷ of John of Salisbury (1156), and in the collection of canon laws attributed to Ivo of Chartres (d. 1115),⁷⁸ and to Gratian (c. 1140),⁷⁹ where the chapter containing it is quoted at length.

For the first time, one finds accounts of the methods used to bring on storms, in heresy trials of the fourteenth century, and the detailed confessions of those held responsible, compared with the negative results of Agobard's judicial investigations, shows the extent to which human intelligence was debased, and human justice perverted in four centuries under the restrictive guardianship of the hierarchy of a church which claimed to be universal. If, according to Greek popular belief, evil demons caused rain and storms in the midst of which the spirits of the dead rode through the air,⁸⁰ these conceptions found no place in the explanations of atmospheric phenomena of pagan philosophies,⁸¹ which survived through the middle ages, down to comparatively modern times.⁸² But the Christian church adopted them as an article of an integral part of its faith, a belief in an elaborate system of demonology.⁸³ Already St. Paul speaks of the hostile "prince of the power of the air",⁸⁴ and of the

⁷⁶ XV, 4; *PL.*, CXI, 422. Hrabanus cites it also at length in the section *De magicis artibus*, a portion of his treatise *De consanguineorum nuptiis*; *PG.*, CX, 1097-1099; cf. Manitius, 299. His friend Hincmar, also cites it in his *De divortio Lotharii* (Interrog. 15; *PL.* CXXV, 718-719; cf. Manitius, 341, n. 2; Hansen, *op. cit.*, 71-73); cf. also Ps. Alcuin, *De Div. offic.*, cap. xii; *PL.*, CI, 1196.

⁷⁷ I, 10; ed. Webb, I, 49. For date cf. B. Hauréau, *C. R. Acad. des Inscr.*, 1872, 78.

⁷⁸ *Panormia*, VIII, 61; *PL.* CLXI, 1317-1318; *Decretum*, XI, 67; *PL.* CLXL. On the authorship cf. Loewe, *Prodromus*, 247; Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres*, 149 ff.

⁷⁹ *Decret.* II, xxvi, 5, c. 14 (ed. Friedberg, I, 1032).

⁸⁰ Rohde, *Psyche*, 3d ed. I, 247-9; *Kl. Schr.*, II, 226-9; P. Stengel, *Hermes*, XVI, 349; *Die griech. Kultusaltertümer*, 2d ed. 112; Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, 776, 785, 845; I, 322-330.

⁸¹ J. L. Ideler, *Meteorologia veterum Graecorum et Romanorum*, 96 ff.; 155-174; cf. especially, 162, n. 5.

⁸² A. D. White, *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology*; A. Franz, *op. cit.*, 19-22; Ch.-V. Langlois, *La Connaissance de la Nature et du Monde au moyen âge, d'après quelques écrits français à l'usage des laïcs*, 97-8, 131, 150-1, 221, 294, 350-1; cf. *Rom. Rev.*, III, 317-318.

⁸³ Franz, *op. cit.*, II, 514-528; Hansen, 2, 21 ff.; 122 ff.

⁸⁴ *Ephes.* II, 2; "τὸν ἀρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος."

"spirits of wickedness of the sky".⁸⁵ Origen,⁸⁶ Eusebius,⁸⁷ Ambrose,⁸⁸ Jerome,⁸⁹ and Augustine⁹⁰ found in these statements authority for assigning to the evil spirits as a dwelling, the air surrounding the earth, and Origen⁹¹ was the first to put forward as peculiarly Christian the belief that these demons were allowed by God to afflict mankind with hunger, failure of crops, and sickness, as a punishment and lesson. If Clement of Alexandria,⁹² in an unusual rational vein, objects to the belief current among his Christian contemporaries, that demons and bad angels sent hail and storms, two centuries later Augustine, the sponsor of so many equally absurd doctrines and superstitions in the Christian church, in his comment on Psalm LXXVII, pointed out that the statement of vv. 47-49, according to which God induced inclemencies of the weather among mankind through the agency of "angeli mali", was confirmed by the book of Job,⁹³ and, in fact, the latter work became the standard Scriptural authority for the demoniacal cause of storms. This belief was emphasized in the allegorical interpretation of *Job* by Greg-

⁸⁵ VI, 12; "πνεύματα τῆς πορνείας ἐν τοῖς ἑπουρανίοις." Cf. Gruppe, 845, n. 5. Reitzenstein (*Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, 191, 82) considers the passage (*Eph.* VI, 10-18) in which the second phrase is found, was based on the ritual of a pagan mystery, similar to those of which he has collected examples (66-9).

⁸⁶ *Exhortatio ad martyrium*, ed. GrChrSchr. I, 41, παραμένειν ἐν τῷ παγεί τοῦτο καὶ περὶ ἐλπίς δεύματα.

⁸⁷ Cf. *supra* p. 000, n. 12.

⁸⁸ *Comm. in ps. 118*: CSEL, LXIII, 248-9.

⁸⁹ *Comm. in Isaiah*, X, 34; XIII, 1: PL. XXIV, 370, 476-7; *Comm. ad Ephes.* I, 2, III, 6: PL. XXVI, 466, 546-7. It is noticeable that the heretic Pelagius, in his comment on *Ephes.* II, 2; "multi sane opinantur quod diabolus in hoc aere" etc., as it appears in a text not tampered with by orthodox editors (H. Zimmer, *Pelagius in Irland*, 360; PL. CIII, 198; cf. PL. XXX, 827; LXVIII, 611) shows a scepticism which is a pleasing contrast to the gross superstition of his chief opponent. But his knowledge of Greek (Zimmer, 198-9, 258, 277, n., 350) gave him an acquaintance with the Eastern patristic writers who were not generally as materialistic as the Occidental in their interpretation of the Pauline passages (cf. e. g. John Chrysostom, *Hom. in Ephes.*, PG. LXII, 31-2, 150; Theodoretus, *Interpr. Epist. ad Ephes.*, PG. LXXXII, 520, 552-3).

⁹⁰ *De civ. Dei*, VIII, 22: CSEL. XL, 1, 391; *De Genesi ad literam*, III, 9-10: CSEL. XXVIII, 71-4; *De natura boni*, 30: CSEL. XXV, 271-2; *De trinitate*, IV, 17: PL. XLII, 902-3.

⁹¹ *Contra Celsum*, VIII, 31: ed. GrChrSchr. II, 246-7.

⁹² *Stromata*, VI, 3, 30: ed. GrChrSchr. II, 460.

⁹³ *Enarratio in Ps. 77*, PL., XXXVI, 1001-3.

ory the Great,⁹⁴ one of the most popular of medieval works.⁹⁵ Constantinus in his *Life of Germanus of Auxerre*, written about 480,⁹⁶ tells how the "inimica uis daemonum," who feared the results of his anti-Pelagian mission, caused storms (procellas) on the saint's first voyage from Gaul to Britain, and how the latter dispelled the storm by invoking Christ and sprinkling water.⁹⁷ This account became an integral part of medieval historical tradition by passing into Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*⁹⁸ and served as a model for similar miracles in other hagiographies.⁹⁹ Finally the belief became a fundamental article of scholastic philosophy. Although Peter Lombard in his *Sententiae*, which was the standard theological textbook from the last quarter of the twelfth century,¹⁰⁰ only expressed the view¹⁰¹ that demons lived in the air, from which they issued to trouble mankind; a century later his commentator Thomas Aquinas accepting this general principle,¹⁰² starting from the premises that corporal things being subject to local impulse through the will of spiritual beings,¹⁰³ demons as well as angels could perform marvels apparently against the course of nature;¹⁰⁴ therefore

et angeli boni et mali possunt aliquid in istis corporibus operari prae-
ter actionem coelestium corporum, condensando nubes in pluvias, et
aliqua hujus modi faciendo.¹⁰⁵

He is even more explicit in explaining the cause of storms in his commentary on *Job*:

Necesse est confiteri, quod deo permittente demones possunt per-
turbationem aeris inducere, ventos concitare [et] facere, ut ignis de

⁹⁴ *Moralia*, I, 16; *PL*, LXXV, 567-8; I, 47, 590; I, 49, 592.

⁹⁵ Manitius, *op. cit.*, 98-101; Gongaud, *Rev. celt.*, XXX, 36; *R. R.*, IV, 226.

⁹⁶ W. Levison, *Neues Arch. der Gesellsch. f. ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, XXIX, 142.

⁹⁷ B. Mombritus, *Sanctuarium siue vitae sanctorum* [Paris, 1910] I, 575.

⁹⁸ I, 17. For the great number of MSS. cf. ed. Plummer, I, lxxxvi; for its wide use, Manitius, *Gesch. d. latein. Literatur*, I, 83.

⁹⁹ Levison, *op. cit.*, 147, 151, 155, 166-7.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. *Zeit. f. rom. Philol.*, XXXV, 145-6.

¹⁰¹ Lib. II, Dist. 6 *PL*, CXCII, 662-3. In his *Collectanea in Epist. Pauli* he gives the usual orthodox comment on the biblical passages; *Ib.*, 179-180, 219.

¹⁰² *Summa*, I, q. 64, a. 4.

¹⁰³ *Summa*, I, q. 110, a. 3 in corp.; cf. *Quaestio de daemonibus*, cited by Hansen, *op. cit.*, 197, n. 3.

¹⁰⁴ *Summa*, I, 110, a. 4.

¹⁰⁵ *Summa*, I, q. 112, a. 2 in corp.

celo cadat . . . Quecunque igitur solo motu locali fieri possunt huiusmodi per naturalem virtutem non solum spiritus boni, sed etiam mali facere possunt, nisi diuinitus prohibeantur. Venti autem ac pluuiæ et aliæ huiusmodi aeris perturbationes solo motu vaporum resolutorum ex terra et aqua fieri possunt. Unde ad huiusmodi procuranda naturalis virtus demonis sufficit, sed interdum ad huiusmodi diuina virtute prohibentur, ut non liceat eis facere omne quod possunt.¹⁰⁶

It is in close conformity to this doctrine that Dante has Buonconte da Montefeltro tell what agencies the devil used to wreak vengeance on his body, because he had saved his soul by "one little tear" at the moment of his death (*Purg.* V, 109-120):

Ben sai come nell'aere si raccoglie
 Quell'umido vapor che in acqua riede,
 Tosto che sale dove il freddo il coglie.
 Giunse quel mal voler, che pur mal chiede,
 Con l'intelletto, e mosse il fummo e il vento
 Per la virtù che sua natura diede.
 Indi la valle, come il dì fu spento,
 Da Pratomagno al gran giogo coperse
 Di nebbia, e il ciel di sopra fece intento
 Sì, che il pregno aere in acqua si converse.
 La pioggia cadde, ed ai fossati venne
 Di lei ciò che la terra non sofferse.

And yet, a generation earlier, that great liberal, if minor poet, Jean de Meung in the *Roman de la Rose*, a work with which Dante was certainly acquainted,¹⁰⁷ did not hesitate to treat in a proper contemp-

¹⁰⁶ *Postilla in Job*, ed. [Esslingen] 1474 (Hain 1397) Leaf 6, recto. The basis of this theory is to be found in the doctrines set forth by Augustine, in his explanation of the miracles performed by Pharaoh's magicians, in his treatise *De trinitate*. They did not create the frogs and serpents; the "mali angeli" at their bidding as aerial beings superior to corporeal men "pro subtilitate sui sensus in occultioribus elementorum seminibus norunt, unde ranae serpentesque nascantur, et haec per certas et notas temperationum opportunitates occultis motibus adhibenda faciunt creari, non creant" (Lib. III, capp. 7-9; *PL.*, XLXX, 878). Almost the same phrase is found *ib.* 876. Aquinas cites passages from these chapters in his discussion of the demoniacal cause of storms in the *Summa*, and they have been quoted at length, or summed up by a number of earlier writers; cf. *e. g.*, Hrabanus Maurus, *De artis magicis*, *PL.*, CX, 1099; Ratherius Ver., *Praeloquia*, I, 4; *PL.*, CXXXVI, 154.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. A. Farinelli, *Dante e la Francia*, I, 22-9; II, 331.

tuous tone the belief. After telling of the harm done by thunderstorms, he goes on:

Si dist-l'en que ce font deables
 A lor croz et a lor chaables,
 A lor ongles, a lor havez,
 Mes tex diz ne vaut deus navez,
 Qu'il en sunt a tort mescreu:
 Car nule riens n'i a eu,
 Fors les tempestes et li vent,
 Qui si les vont aconsivant.
 Ce sunt les choses qui lor nuisent.¹⁰⁸

By the beginning of the thirteenth century Augustine's¹⁰⁹ and Isidore's¹¹⁰ opinions that the demons of the air acted at the bidding of sorcerers had become an article of doctrinal belief among theologians. Church traditions and popular tales told of men who had bound themselves by a written contract to deliver their souls to the devil in return for material advantages.¹¹¹ Such stories interpreted in the light of the scriptural phrase (*Isaiah*, XXVIII, 15; 18) "Percussimus foedus cum morte et cum inferno fecimus pactum", and of Augustine's authoritative statement that the aid given to sorcerers by demons implied a contract between them,¹¹² was basis enough for the scholastic philosophers in the second part of the thirteenth century to state as a scientific principle that sorcerers, in return for renouncing the Christian faith, were instructed and aided in the baleful arts through which they brought harm to their enemies.¹¹³ The incorporation of popular superstition into their elaborate demonology by the scholastics, had dire consequences when their theories, as fine-spun as they were silly, became an integral part of the procedure of the ecclesiastical persecution of heretics, among whom witches were included.¹¹⁴ Given the power of demons

¹⁰⁸ Ed. Michel, 18840-48.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. *supra*, p. 229, n. 106.

¹¹⁰ Cf. *supra*, p. 225.

¹¹¹ Hansen, 128, 129, 131-2, 144-5, 155 and n. 2.

¹¹² *De doctrina christ.* II, 20; *PL.* XXXIV, 50; *De diversis quaest.* LXXXIII, qu. 79; *PL.* XL, 92.

¹¹³ Hansen, 167-173.

¹¹⁴ Hansen, 327, 338, 340, 399-400. 405.

to cause atmospheric disturbances, and the existence of contracts between demons and men for bringing harm to individuals and communities, it was easy to postulate that the method used was that credited by popular belief. Among other popular superstitions, those in regard to storm-making were accepted as actual facts by spiritual and lay courts; introduced as definite charges against some poor wretch, who under the stress of torture—"Tra male gatte era venuto il sorco"—was ready to swear to the truth of every detail of an article of a suggestive interrogatory, in regard to a bit of gross superstition which had developed into a legal formula.

It took some time for the witch judges to develop what might be called the technique of weather-making, on which to base the examinations of their victims. Thus in the earliest trial in which this particular crime has been noted, and which resulted in the burning of eight witches at Toulouse in 1335, one of those who were condemned was only forced to confess that she had caused harmful hail, fog and frost. The Dominican inquisitor stated that

Catherine, pressée vivement, par les moyens qui sont en notre pouvoir, de dire toute la vérité, après avoir long-temps protesté de son innocence et fait nombre de faux sermens, est convenue de tous les crimes dont nous la soupçonnions. Elle faisait tomber la grêle sur les champs de ceux qu'elle n'aimait pas; faisait pourrir les blés par un brouillard empesté, gêler les vignes.¹¹⁵

As the poor victim had already confessed that she was the liege subject and leman of the devil,¹¹⁶ it was understood that she had used methods to harm her neighbors through his aid which did not need to be specified. By this time the original pact between men and the spirit of evil had developed in popular conception into an act of homage of a vassal to his feudal lord¹¹⁷ who gives aid to his subjects to carry out their evil designs, such as instructing them in the magical rites, or furnishing them with the material means, to cause storms, etc.¹¹⁸ This theoretical development in theological

¹¹⁵ Lamothe-Langon, *Histoire de l'Inquisition en France*, III, 239.

¹¹⁶ On the development of the scholastic and legal theories in regard to intrigues between human beings and devils cf. Hansen, *Zauberwahn*, 142-4; 179-189; *R. R.*, V, 55 ff. especially, 67.

¹¹⁷ Hansen, *ib.*, 275-7.

¹¹⁸ *Ib.*, 343. In studying magic storm-making in witch-trials I have naturally been guided by this truly great work, and by the supplementary

and judicial circles had its source in popular beliefs in which the Christian devil originally played no part. In 1438 we find the details of a method of causing a storm set forth so explicitly that it is evident that the officials of the Holy Inquisition in at least one tract of their happy hunting grounds, the abodes of heretics, had metamorphosed a popular belief into a precise formula, put in the form of a question, to which only a positive answer from the accused was acceptable. A certain Pierre Vallin, prosecuted in 1338 as a heretical Vaudois by both the ecclesiastical and lay authorities of La Tour du Pin in Dauphiné, confessed that

super quodam fonte ex precepto sui magistri dyaboli verberavit sive percussit, ex quo a dicto fonte et arte dyabolica et ea causante perverse tempestates exierunt et processerunt, que plurima dampna in terra et super fructibus fecerunt et intulerunt mandato dicti sui magistri Belzebut infernalis demonis.¹¹⁹

The sceptical Martin le Franc in his *Champion des dames*, written between 1440 and 1442 at Bâle,¹²⁰ has his credulous "Adversaire" tell how in the same Vaudois persecution in Dauphiné, an old woman confessed

Que par pouldre quelle souffloit
Faisoit sourdre et lever tempeste
Qui blez et vignoble riffloit,
Entes et arbres essifloit,
Et en estoit ung pays gasté;
Et s'aucun contre elle ronfloit,

Quellen. But I have been able to consult nearly all the original printed texts cited in these works, and to add my quota, particularly in the case of trials of a date later than 1540, the limit set for his investigations by Hansen, through the use of the very large Witchcraft Collection in the Cornell University Library, due to the inspiration and generosity of Dr. A. D. White, and to the learning, watchfulness and industry of Professor G. L. Burr. To the latter I am indebted for many useful suggestions thrown out by him in our discussions on general and specific points in the history of witchcraft.

¹¹⁹ Hansen, *Quellen*, 462. This is one of the items of the charges made against him in the lay court. It is found in a shorter form in the act of condemnation of the inquisitorial court (*Ib.*, 460). Chevalier (*Mémoire historique sur les hérésies en Dauphiné*, Valence, 1890, 135-7) has only printed the second document, and has failed to comment on the case (cf. 32, n.).

¹²⁰ On date cf. G. Paris, *Rom.*, XVI, 395-6; Piaget, *Martin Le Franc*, 18.

Il estoit tantost tempesté.
 Plus de 600 ont déposé,
 Sans qu'ilz fussent mis à torture,
 Qu'ils ont le grésil composé
 Par dessus tous les mons d'Esture,
 Et pluie et vent contre nature
 Fait trébucher où ilz vouloient.¹²¹

Ten years later, in 1448, one of those included in a Vaudois persecution, instituted at Lausanne by a Dominican inquisitor, confessed that he had been present at a witches' meeting on a mountain behind Gruyère, where men broke with pointed pieces of iron, pieces of ice that the devil gave them. A tall, fat black man poured water on this ice, so it would freeze again, and be carried away in the form of hailstones and icicles, by black clouds, which they directed towards the places they wished to harm.¹²² Another of the accused took hailstones from a spring and carried them in company with his devilish master to the place where he wished to scatter them.¹²³ In 1461 another Vaudois confessed that he had caused hail-clouds to rise, by beating springs with a stick, and that, made invisible by the devil, he directed the clouds.¹²⁴ A witch who was tried at

¹²¹ Hansen, *Quellen*, 103.

¹²² M. Reymond, "La sorcellerie au pays de Vaud au XV^e siècle", *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, XII (1908) 9-10.

¹²³ *Ib.* 10; on date see p. 6.

¹²⁴ M. Reymond, "Cas de sorcellerie en pays fribourgeois au quinzième siècle", *ib.*, XIII, 84-5; on date cf. p. 83. These seem to be the Vaudois trials and confessions described in the manuscript work, *Errores Gazariorum seu illorum, qui scobam vel baculum equitare probantur*, written c. 1450 by an anonymous ecclesiastic, near the Lake of Geneva (Hansen, *Quellen*, 118, cf. 533, 536), whose account of the different methods of hail-making (120) is that given in the text, based on the original French documents. Therefore Hansen's dating c. 1420-1439 of the trials (455) is too early. Another woman of the Vaudois sect confessed at Provins in 1452 that she caused a drizzle (*bruyné*) by an elaborate ritual which included invoking the devil by making magic circles (*cernes*), and then, by his advice, making a hole in the center of the circles, from which first a black cat and then a heavy drizzle would rise, the latter becoming stones and sand, if she wished (Bourquelot, "Les Vaudois du quinzième siècle", *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, Sér. 2, t. III, 91-2. A German witch confessed in 1586 that the blood of a decapitated black cat was rubbed on a stick, in a ceremony to invoke a satellite of the devil to cause storms and other harm; E. Beyer, *Zauberei und Hexenprozesse im evangelisch. Mecklenburg* (1903) 51-2.

Lucerne about 1450, confessed that she had caused a number of hail-storms in the preceding forty years, having only to take water in her hands from a brook, and throw it behind her, in the name of all the devils, and particularly of those to whom she was devoted. She had been instructed in this art of invoking devilish aid to do mischief, at the beginning of her wicked career, by "ein gros hagelsiedrin" at Meersburg.¹²⁵ An old man burnt in the neighborhood of Nancy in 1456, by his own confession a sorcerer for forty years, said that a severe cold drizzling rain (ung grant bruynne et froid) which had destroyed a good part of the vineyards in April of that year,

avoit advenu par ce que lessdits sorciers et sorcieres gettont en une fontaine pres de Desme alucune mystion faicte par l'art du dyable, de laquelle sortit et vint icelle bruynne.¹²⁶

A witch burnt in Cologne in the same year for the same cause, showed while in prison to some official her method of causing hail and frost. She had brought to her a tub of water, over which she performed certain incantations and rites, so that "infra spatium duorum Pater noster" she froze the water so thick that it could be scarcely pierced with the point of a knife or dagger.¹²⁷

The procedure and the results of these trials for maleficent weather-making sorcery in Switzerland inspired those two infamous Dominicans, Heinrich Institoris and Jakob Sprengel,¹²⁸ to use the

¹²⁵ E. Hoffmann-Krayer, "Luzerner Akten zum Hexen- und Zauberwesen", *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, III, 25. The same process of hail-making was attributed to another woman, tried for witchcraft in 1486 (*Ib.*, 88).

¹²⁶ *Chroniques de Philippe de Vigneulles*, ed. Huguenin, *Chroniques mes-sines*, 285.

¹²⁷ Chronicle of Cornelius Zantfliet, of Liège, Martène-Durand, *Veterum scriptorum ampl. coll.*, V, 491; cf. Hansen, *Quellen*, 566 ff. On making hail in a room cf. below p. 236, n. 134.

¹²⁸ In their work as officials of their order and of the Inquisition, these monks fell below the standard of even their own age and profession, as superstitious bigots and bloodthirsty persecutors. Further Institoris made himself subject to the severest church discipline for embezzling church funds, and causing scandal in his order (Hansen, *Quellen*, 360-415, especially 369, 371, 383, 387-8); and both were equally responsible for the forged approbation of their book attributed to the Theological Faculty of Cologne University (*ib.*, 386-7, 403; *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, XVII (1898, 133-168); XXVI (1907), 391-404.

same methods in their work as inquisitors in Northern Germany, which was so favored by the popes Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII. Their own success is evidenced in that wicked book, of their joint authorship, the *Malleus maleficarum*, written in 1486, and first published in 1487.¹²⁹ In the diocese of Constance, where according to their own proud boast they had, between 1481 and 1486, burnt forty-eight witches,¹⁸⁰ two were arrested and examined, charged with causing a devastating hail-storm. In fear of torture—*subito libere et a vinculis absoluta, licet in loco torturae*—one of them confessed that the demon who had been her paramour for nineteen years, coming to her house at noon, made an appointment with her in a field, outside of the town, telling her to bring a little water, “*et dum interrogassem, quidnam operis in aqua explere vellet, pluuiam se velle causare respondit.*” Sitting under a tree, with the demon standing by her, she brought on hail by stirring up the water with her finger in a hole she had dug, calling on the names of the devil and all the other demons. The water disappeared, the devil dissolving it in the air (*disparuit, et sursum in aëra Diabolus duxit*). The hail came on as soon as she reached home. Her confession was confirmed in every detail by her accomplice, who performed the same magic process under a neighboring tree.¹⁸¹

Another woman, who was burnt in the same diocese, brought on a hail-storm to break up a wedding-party, to which she had not been invited. In her anger she had invoked the devil, who had transported her through the air to a mountain, near the town of Waldshut, where she lived. Arrived there,

¹²⁹ Hansen, *Quellen*, 384-6, 393, 401.

¹⁸⁰ *Malleus mal.*, Pars II, Quaestio I, cap. 4, p. 269. Although the first and other earlier editions are accessible to me I quote from the standard edition of 1669, which forms the first volume of the two volume work, published at Lyon in 1669; *Malleus maleficarum: de Lamiis et Strigibus, et Sagis, Aliisque Magis & Daemoniacis eorumque arte, & potestate, & poena, Tractatus aliquot tam veterum, quam recentiorum auctorum.*

¹⁸¹ *Mal. m.*, P. II, Q. I, cap. 15; p. 363-6. For the date cf. K. O. Müller,, “Heinrich Institoris, der Verfasser des Hexenhammers und seine Tätigkeit als Hexeninquisitor in Ravensburg im Herbst 1484”, *Württembergische Vierteljahrshefte für Landesgeschichte*, N. F. XIX (1910), 397-417. This account of the trial, of which the official record has not survived, is translated and discussed by Müller (*ib.*, 409-412).

cum aqua sibi deesset ad fundendum in foueam, (quem modum, ut patebit, ubi grandines excitant, observant,) ipsa in foueam, quam paruum fecerat, urinam loco aquae immisit, et cum digito, more suo, astante Daemone movit, et Daemon subito illum humorem sursum elevans, grandinem vehementem in lapidibus super chorizantes tantummodo et oppidanos immisit.

Her airy flight and subsequent actions were seen by some shepherds, and she saw her way to confess what her judges wished her to, in the way of confirming these witnesses.¹⁸² A small girl of eight in Swabia (Suevia) brought on first a rain-storm and then hail by the same method, by conjuring a brook and invoking the devil, as she had learned from her mother, the wife of a peasant.¹⁸³ Another witch when in the prison of the castle of Königsheym, near Schlettstatt, in the diocese of Strasburg, at the request of three friends, who were acting as stool-pigeons, caused a heavy storm of hail to fall on a wood designated by them, by having one of them stir his finger in, and by her speaking a charm over a pan of water.¹⁸⁴ Our Dominican authors only refer to another method of making rain with the use of a broom, for which we find evidence in later trials, in their discussion of the guilt of those performing such rites:

Scopa ergo, quam mulier intingeret aquae ut pluatur, et sursum in aërem aquam spargendo, licet in se non causat pluuiam, nec posset mulier inde reprehendi, quia tamen ex pacto cum Daemone inito, ubi iam ut Malefica talia facit licet Daemon sit qui pluuiam causat,

¹⁸² *Mall. mal.*, P. II, Q. I, cap. 3; p. 258-259.

¹⁸³ *Ib.*, P. II, Q. I, cap 13; p. 352-3; cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, 416.

¹⁸⁴ *Mall. mal.*, P. III, Q. XVI; p. 569. The Dominican preacher Geiler stated that "Dar um die Hexen können einen Hagel machen in einer Stube; es muss aber allwegen Wasser da sein" (*Emeis*, Strasburg 1516, 55 b col. 2). This statement has not its source in the *Opusculum de sagis maleficis*, of Martin Plantsch (C iib) as Paulus states (*Hexenwahn und Hexenprozess, vornehmlich im 16. Jahrhundert*, 13). The power of making rain in a room was attributed to different witches (F. Byloff, *Das Verbrechen der Zauberer; Ein beitrage zur Geschichte d. Strafrechtspflege in Steiermark*, Graz 1902, 384 (1589), 390 (1624)). Zingerle, *Barbara Pachlerin die Sarnthaler Hexe, und Mathias Perger der Laufresser*, 32 (1645). H. J. Bell (*Obeah, Witchcraft in the West Indies*, London 1889, 97) reports with confidence the story of a small girl of St. Lucia who "ten years ago" involuntarily caused rain to fall from the ceiling of the rooms she was in (R. Reichel, "Ein Marburger Hexenprozess vom 1546", *Mitth. d. historische Ver. f. Steiermark*, Heft XXVII (1879), 124).

isa tamen merito inculpatur, eo quod male fide et opere diabolo servit, eius obsequiis se tradendo.¹⁸⁵

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(To be continued)

¹⁸⁵ *Mall. mal.*, P. II, Q. I, cap. II; p. 329. In the official record of a series of witch trials held at Innsbruck in 1485, in which Institoris did not meet with his usual success in convicting the accused, owing to the steps taken by the intelligent bishop of Brixen, Georg Golser, against his dishonest unfair procedure, the inquisitor evidently did not have opportunity to examine the methods used by one of the accused women to bring on a storm she was charged with causing (H. Amman, "Der Innsbrucker Hexenprocess von 1485", *Zeitschr. des Ferdinandeums für Tirol und Vorarlberg*, Dritte Folge, Heft 34 [1890], 17).

DANTE'S IDEA OF THE SENSIBLE APPEARANCE OF SPIRITS BEYOND THE GRAVE

ALL through Dante's journey in the other world we are made aware of the difference between his living flesh and blood and the forms of the beings whose despair, remorse, pain, hope and joy he witnesses. There are few exceptions to this, and those in the *Inferno* only. Even there it is after he follows Virgil into the boat of Flegias that the little craft seems laden.¹ There he passes over shades, placing his foot upon the emptiness that a moment before had seemed a human form.² The souls in Purgatory draw back from one whose breathing and shadow prove him still in the body.³ When he would embrace his friend Casella he finds his arms folded on his own breast. He wonders, too, at the capacity for physical suffering in those whom he knows to be separated from the body.

At last one of them tells him that the soul, released from the flesh, finds itself, with memory, intelligence and will at their keenest, either by Acheron, destined to hell, or at the mouth of Tiber awaiting the voyage to the mountain of Purgatory. Whether on the one or other shore, the power of the soul is such that it there impresses itself on the neighboring air, and forms in it a new shape in the likeness and size of the living members. This aerial form surrounds the soul and follows it as the flame follows the fire wheresoever it moves. As by its means the soul is rendered visible it is called a shade, and by it the soul has all the organs of sense, even sight. So the souls may speak and laugh, or utter the sobs and sighs so audible on the steep ascent. The shade, in short, adapts itself to the desires and emotions of the soul.⁴

This passage is often dismissed by commentators with a general statement to the effect that on this point Dante differs from Aquinas, and that he probably adopted this theory that he might

¹ *Inferno* VIII, 25-27.

² *Inferno* VI, 36.

³ *Purgatorio* II, 79-81.

⁴ *Purgatorio* XXV, 79-108.

make his readers realize the various souls encountered. The statement of Aquinas cited in defence of this position is in the *Summa*,⁵—"The soul separated from the body has no body whatever;" and this assertion, taken by itself, would seem to leave no room for discussion.

There is no shadow of evidence, however, that Dante consciously contradicted scholastic theology for any artistic purpose whatever. On the contrary it is to be noticed that he, who does not lightly change his protagonist, puts this explanation into the mouth of Statius, convert to Christianity, who thus for the time replaces Virgil, authority on shades if ever there was one, shades which have precisely the same characteristics as Dante's—with faces and hands, wounds and blood, yet intangible, for Aeneas finds Anchises nothing in his embrace, as Dante found Casella. Certainly early commentators like Buti and Alighieri are quite sure that this explanation is given to Statius because Christian belief may be more fittingly expounded by a Christian.

There have been various attempts to explain the difficulty. Scartazzini⁶ suggested that Dante took his device from Platonic notions derived through certain of the Fathers, Clement of Alexandria and Origen. Ozanam⁷ thought it safe to say Dante to give life to his poetry adopted a *via media*. He borrowed from St. Thomas the idea of the disembodied soul, which retains its intellectual powers in a keener state than ever. On the other hand, as poet and child of the Middle Ages he borrowed from Origen and St. Augustine the notion of the shade and of the intangible body.

Of later date is the explanation of the German Dantist, Vossler.⁸ "As philosopher Dante denied exactly with St. Thomas this conception of spiritual matter. Intelligible substances like angels or disembodied souls were by him conceived as immaterial. As poet, however, he clothes them with a shadowy body; but he ends by believing in the reality of such a poetic body, and has Statius explain in all seriousness the how and why of the phenomenon as if he were dealing with a fact."

⁵ Pt. III, Suppl. Qu. LXIX, art. 1. "Anima separata a corpore non habet aliquod corpus."

⁶ *Com. Lips. Purg.* XXV, 96.

⁷ M. A. F. Ozanam, *Dante et la philosophie catholique*, Pt. I, ch. III.

⁸ *The Divine Comedy*, I, ii, 5.

Within a year Mr. Wicksteed⁹ has attempted to show that Dante might well have derived his warrant for the notion in the well known belief of the Middle Ages in the device of making a waxen image of a man and then reducing him, by operation upon it, to wasting and death. From this analogy Mr. Wicksteed derives the possibility of a conception of matter which does not in any true sense form part of a man's body, and is yet so connected with him that acts done upon it will beget sensations in him, and so have effects upon his consciousness exactly similar to those which would be produced by things done to his own body. Mr. Wicksteed points out that S. Thomas makes use of this idea in one of his attempts to establish a connection between an immaterial spirit and material fire. "But," he adds, "the obvious further step forward that Dante makes was apparently too bold for him." (P. 224.)

Now so far from being a bold step forward, the notion of the shadowy body of the dead is as old as consciousness. An endless chain of ideas, longings, attempts at definition, fervid arguments, and ever more carefully restricted statements as to the conditions of the future life, stretches between the guesses of primitive man, perplexed by his dreams, and the fixed theological system of Aquinas.

Mr. Flinders Petrie tells of the Egyptian Ka,—“or will and consciousness of the person, coinciding with the sensations of the body, and therefore filling the exact form, but incorporeal.”¹⁰ Babylonian and early Jewish conceptions concerning the dead were closely associated with ancestor worship, but owing to the inability to “conceive the body without psychical functions or the soul without a certain corporeity . . . the departed were conceived as possessing a soul and a shadowy body.” But whereas the inhabitants of the Babylonian Sheol are naked “the more usual Hebrew view was that

⁹ *Dante and Aquinas*, Philip H. Wicksteed, 1913.

Since this paper was written an article has appeared in the current *Giornale dantesco* (vol. XXII, quad. I) in which Giovanni Busnelli devotes some space to the discussion of what he terms the *corpi fittisi delle anime*. Without elaborating the history of the idea, he indicates that the opinion has been held by various Fathers and Doctors of the church, and says—“San Tommaso ammette che gli spiriti possono assumere un corpo fittizio, e presentarlo in quella forma, palpabile o impalpabile, che lor talenta; perchè Dante . . . non avrebbe potuto estendere simil teorica agli spiriti umani?”

¹⁰ Hastings' *Cyclopaedia of Religions*, Art. *Egyptian Religion*.

the departed wore in shadowy guise the customary attire of earth."¹¹

The classic conception of the land of shades is a familiar one. Of course Orphic and Pythagorean ideas of judgment and retribution were complicated by metempsychosis. But as many years were supposed to elapse between each judgment and the return of the soul to a new body on earth, a shade, or something like it, was needed for the interim. As put by Plato in the *Phaedo* (108), the soul, hesitating to leave the lifeless frame, is borne away by its attendant genius to the place where other souls are gathered, and (113) they are embarked on the Acheron and afterwards plunged into the lake for purification. Nothing definite is said as to the vehicle in which a soul may be submerged into a very definite lake, but those in the highest life, who have duly purged themselves with philosophy, live henceforth altogether without the body, which would seem to imply some sort of a body during the lower stages. The same question arises in the *Gorgias* (243), where the souls wait judgment naked, stripped of clothing and body, but nevertheless in a definite place.

All through the sixth Aeneid Virgil shows himself Dante's master in the presentment of souls, vividly real, but whose shadowiness we are never allowed to forget. Charon is at once conscious that flesh and blood have entered his Stygian ship and he resents the burden.¹²

Later Jewish belief shows considerable variation. In the *Maccabees* the ideas are definite and literal, but after this, while some taught only a resurrection of the spirit others taught a resurrection of the body, but a body consisting of garments of glory or of light.

The Alexandrian Jews, influenced by Greek thought and convinced of the eternity of matter and also of its distinctly evil nature, not only denied the resurrection of the flesh, but some of them of any future body. The Slavonic Enoch teaches that the risen phenomena will be constituted of the divine glory.¹³ But according to Philo those souls so low-minded as to get themselves born at all might be "saved by a spiritual philosophy, by 'meditating, from the

¹¹ R. H. Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism and in Christianity*, pp. 34 n., 48.

¹² L. 391.

¹³ Charles, *ib.*, p. 252; *De Gigantibus*, 3. cit. Charles, *ib.*, p. 253.

beginning to the end on how to die to the life of the body in order to obtain incorporeal and immortal life in the presence of the uncreated and immortal God.' "

The earliest Christians while deeply convinced that their future existence would be in a body like that of the risen Christ, viewed the second advent as so near that they expected their living bodies to be changed into the likeness of Christ's glorious body. Their belief about those that were dead at Christ's coming was probably not unlike that expressed in Jewish documents of the first century A. D., namely, that the dead were to be raised with all their defects and deformities, even the clothes in which they were buried. This was in order that the dead might recognize each other, after which "the bodies of the righteous would be transformed with a view to a spiritual existence of unending duration and glory."¹⁴

But these beliefs involving the life after the second advent do not seem to have interfered with belief in the intermediate state and the activity of the departed in some sort of body. As might be expected, Christ's parable of Dives and Lazarus was accepted as a literal revelation of the condition of the soul.¹⁵ There we hear of two parts of the intermediate state visible each from each: there are apparitions recognizable, capable of pain or rest, owning a finger, a tongue. Even more significant is another passage in the same Gospel where Christ appears in the midst of the disciples who were terrified, thinking they saw a spirit. But they are reassured—"A spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have."¹⁶ There is also the passage where the damsel Rhoda sees St. Peter as he returns from prison, but the rest think she must have seen his angel.¹⁷ Now the appearances of angels, and demons, the forms seen in dreams and visions, the shapes raised by magicians and the *revenant* are all of the same nature. This is shown very clearly in St. Augustine's treatise *De Genesi*.

Gradually the hope of an immediate return of Christ to institute a kingdom of glory in which the faithful in glorified bodies were to share died away, and a new influence was felt—that of the

¹⁴ *Apocalypse of Baruch*, cit. Charles, pp. 280, 281.

¹⁵ St. Luke's Gospel, XVI, 19 ff.

¹⁶ XXIV, 39.

¹⁷ *Acts*, XII, 15.

Gnostics. Harnack calls Gnosticism "the acute secularizing of Christianity," but it is the influence of a Hellenism into which oriental ideas had penetrated. At the basis of Gnosticism is an oriental dualism, but when it recognizes in this corporeal and material world the true seat of evil, and when the object of salvation becomes the separation of the spiritual from the corporeal being, this is an outcome of the contrast in Greek dualism between spirit and matter, soul and body.

Now the Hellenic contrast between "spirit" and "flesh" could not become "completely developed in Christianity, because the belief in the bodily resurrection of Christ and the admission of the flesh into heaven, opposed to the principle of dualism a barrier which Paul neither knew nor felt to be necessary. The conviction as to the resurrection of the flesh proved the hard rock which shattered the energetic attempts to give a completely Hellenic complexion to the Christian religion."¹⁸

Gnostics rejected the "entire Christian eschatology, the resurrection of the body, and Christ's kingdom of glory upon earth."¹⁹ And "the doctrine of the incarnation, of the resurrection of the body, and of the creation of the Word, in time formed the boundary between the dogmatic of the church and Neo-platonism."²⁰ It is evident that the conception of matter as essentially evil is incompatible with belief in the resurrection of the body, and Marcion (*fl.* A. D. 139) held that the *good* God delivers only the souls, not the bodies of believers.²¹

There was of course abundant opposition to Gnosticism. Controversy raged on both sides, until Origen's brilliant genius "welded together ecclesiastical Christianity and Greek culture into a system of theology which was completely heterodox."²²

Origen believed that all spirits will be finally rescued and glorified, each in the form of individual life, in order to serve a new epoch of the world where sensuous matter disappears of itself. Here he rejects all sensuous eschatological expectations. He ac-

¹⁸ Adolph Harnack, *History of Dogma*, tr. Neil Buchanan, I, pp. 230 n., 240; *ib.*, I, p. 331.

¹⁹ Harnack, I, p. 261.

²⁰ *Ib.*, p. 360.

²¹ *Ib.*, p. 272.

²² *Ib.*, II, p. 346.

cepted the formula "resurrection of the flesh" (St. Jerome says he did not), only because it was contained in the doctrine of the church; but on the strength of *I. Cor.* XV, 44 ("It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body. There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body,") he interpreted it as the rising of the "corpus spiritale which will lack all material attributes and even all the members that have sensuous functions and which will beam with radiant light like angels or stars."²³

In the first days of Christianity the conception of an aerial body assumed immediately after death had been a harmless aid towards realizing the continued existence of the dead. Now this conception threatened to take the place of the belief in a future glorified resurrection body like that of Christ. And the reason for the substitution lay in the dualistic theory that redemption meant the deliverance of the soul from matter. The body, as matter, was to be despised as having no part in immortality.

"The moral philosophy accompanying these views of redemption was dominated by the false estimate of sensuousness, and assumed a double form, (*Iren.* III, 15, 2), either a strict ascetic abstinence (*Iren.* I. 24. 2. *Hipp. Ref.* V: 9, p. 170. *Pist. Soph.*, pp. 250, 254f), or a lax carnality, confident that nothing could harm these favored ones, with scornful criticism of the strict morality of the church."²⁴ It is interesting to note here that the results of such dualism and scorn of the body among Neo-platonists, Gnostics, Albigenses and even predestinarian Puritans are strikingly alike.

It is not difficult to believe that the working out of such a notion produced deplorable results, and practical men were forced to fight it. As we have seen, one most powerful weapon was the insistence upon the elevation of the body by emphasizing its share in immortality. Any notion of an aerial body was dangerous, so there were many arguments for the literal correspondence of the present and future bodies. But it was St. Jerome who laid down the position in vitriolic controversy, and "fixed the belief of churchmen on the points he deals with . . . for more than a thousand years."²⁵

²³ Harnack, II, p. 378.

²⁴ *Textbook of the History of Doctrine*, Reinhold Seeberg, tr. A. E. Hay, I, pp. 97, 98.

²⁵ *St. Jerome*, ed. and trans. W. H. Fremantle.

In his treatise to Pammachius against John of Jerusalem (c. A. D. 397), he develops the distinction between the resurrection of the body and the resurrection of the flesh which at first sight seems mere hair splitting. But "resurrection of the body" might very well mean an ethereal or aerial body: "resurrection of the flesh" is unequivocal. John of Jerusalem is accused of speaking nine times of the resurrection of the body but not once of the resurrection of the flesh. St. Jerome wrangles on for pages, quoting Origen's arguments against a sensuous resurrection, and asserting that Origen taught that a different body, spiritual and ethereal, is promised us.

"The true confession of the resurrection declares that the flesh will be glorious, but without destroying its reality. And when the Apostle says, this corruptible and mortal, these words denote this very body, that is to say the flesh that was then seen. But when he adds that it puts on incorruption and immortality, he does not say that that which is put on, that is the clothing, does away with the body, which it adorns in glory . . . we wish not to be stripped of the flesh, but to put on over it the vesture of glory." He quotes from the book of Job ("Yet in my flesh shall I see God"), and says—"I shall be clothed in my skin. What mention do we find here of an ethereal body? What of an aerial body like to breath and wind?"

That the question was of intense interest and that it was only with a struggle that the faithful reconciled themselves to a period of absolutely disembodied existence is shown in the correspondence of St. Augustine. One Evodius²⁶ writes to St. Augustine (A. D. 414)—"I ask whether there may not be some kind of body (formed perchance, of one of the four elements, either air or ether) which does not depart from the incorporeal principle, that is, the substance properly called the soul, when it forsakes this earthly body. For as the soul is in its nature incorporeal, if it be absolutely disembodied by death there is now one soul of all that have left this world. . . . There is no question that souls which are held in definite places (as that rich man was in the flames, and that poor man was in Abraham's bosom) are held in bodies. If there are distinct places, there are bodies, and in these bodies the soul resides, and even although the punishments and rewards are experienced in

²⁶ *Letters of St. Augustine*, tr. J. G. Cunningham, Letter CLVIII.

the conscience, the soul which experiences them is nevertheless in a body. . . .

"For the angels themselves if they were not membered by bodies of some kind could not be called many. . . . Again it is certain that Samuel was seen in the body when he was raised at the request of Saul." Evodius speculates whether it may not be possible that, the dead body being without heat, the soul takes the heat with it and makes its new body out of the element of fire. "It would greatly distress me," he says, "to think that the soul after death passes into a state of torpor, being as it were buried, just as it is during sleep while it is in the body, living only in hope, but having nothing and knowing nothing, especially if in its sleep it be not even stirred by any dreams. This notion causes me very great horror, and seems to indicate that the life of the soul is extinguished by death. . . . That the soul cannot exist in absolute separation from a body of some kind is proved in my opinion by the fact that to exist without the body belongs to God alone."

Twenty-five years earlier Augustine had discussed with another friend²⁷ "a question often agitated between us, and which left us agitated, breathless and excited: concerning a body or kind of body which belongs perpetually to the soul and which is called by some its vehicle." At that time he left the matter open, saying it is beyond the province of the intellect and of the senses as well. Now he is older and in correspondence with St. Jerome, whose fulmination against the whole idea had been written. Moreover the last argument of his younger friend tastes of heresy. Origen had taught strongly that God only is incorporeal. So now St. Augustine answers the question very differently.²⁸ The matter is very complex, and for complete solution requires more time and attention than he has to spare. "My opinion, however, if you are willing to hear it, summed up in a sentence is, that I by no means believe that the soul in departing from the body is accompanied by another body of any kind." Notwithstanding this assertion he cannot resist going on to discuss the fact that there are "things which, while not material bodies, do nevertheless resemble the forms, properties and motions of material bodies," and admits, "I am wholly unable to ex-

²⁷ Letter XIII.

²⁸ Letter CLIX.

plain in words how these semblances of material bodies without any real bodies are produced." Evodius may have taken comfort in this especially as he is also told "while it is free to everyone to believe or disbelieve these statements, every man has his own consciousness at hand as a teacher by whose help he may apply himself to this most important question."

Indeed while St. Jerome threw himself heart and soul into the question of the resurrection of the flesh, St. Augustine never ceased to be troubled by the problem. In his exposition of *Genesis* (XII: 33) he discusses the appearances seen in dreams and visions. In the *City of God* (XXI: 10) it puzzles him to arrange incorporeal devils in corporeal fire: "Unless" he says, "as learned men have thought, the devils have a kind of body made of that dense and humid air which we feel strikes us when the wind is blowing." Again in the treatise on the Trinity (Book III) he finds it very hard to keep angels absolutely incorporeal and yet visible on earth. "I confess however, that it reaches further than my purpose can carry me to inquire whether the angels, secretly working by the spiritual quality of their body abiding still in them, assume somewhat from the inferior and more bodily elements, which being fitted to themselves, they may change and turn like a garment into any corporeal appearances they will, and those appearances themselves are real, as real water was changed by our Lord into real wine."

Now if St. Augustine with all the dangers of the teaching of an aerial body before his mind found it hard to discuss these things in the abstract, it was all the more difficult to dispense with the conception after Gnosticism ceased to be a practical issue and the ultimate resurrection of the flesh was universally accepted. It was most natural that in discussions of the angels and of the intermediate state the earlier notion should be used for working purposes. So by the beginning of the seventh century Isidore of Seville (Sent. X. I. x.) taught—"The angels assume the bodies in which they appear to men from the upper air and put on a solid appearance from the celestial element by which they may more manifestly be discerned by obtuse men."

In 688 a bishop, Julian of Toledo, in his *Prognosticon Futuri Seculi* (II: 16) offers this proposition:

"That the soul may have the similitude of a body and in the same corporal similitude experience rest and endure torments." And the interesting thing is that he cites St. Augustine in support of his opinion, quoting the passage in the *Genesis* relating to figures in dreams. He is evidently more impressed by St. Augustine's constant speculation than by his occasional negation.

The same thing is true of Peter Lombard (c. A. D. 1150) who in his *Book of Sentences* (IV, Dis. XLIV, 7) raises the question as to whether sinners between death and judgment can feel material fire. Having, like every one else, instanced Dives and Lazarus in confirmation of the fact that they can, he goes on—"especially when Augustine teaches that the human soul has the similitude of a body, saying this on *Genesis*, XII, 33—Whosoever refuses to declare that the soul may have the similitude of a body and the bodily members altogether might deny that it is the soul which seems in slumber to walk, to sit down, etc." Now this is exactly the passage cited by Julian of Toledo. Truly things had come Evodius' way at last. Posterity certainly thought that Augustine taught some sort of a body for the interim between death and judgment.

Now we come to the position of Thomas Aquinas. He makes the very positive statement quoted above, that the soul separated from the body has no body whatever²⁹ on the authority of the very book of St. Augustine which Julian and Peter Lombard had quoted on the other side. In another place³⁰ he quotes Peter Lombard and explains him away by saying that it is not to be understood that the separated soul has in reality the similitude of a body or of bodily members . . . but feels only by way of apprehension, intellectual or imaginative. This is very plausible, but whether Peter Lombard would have recognized himself in the explanation is another question.

As a matter of fact the explanation did not altogether satisfy St. Thomas himself. He must needs assign the souls to definite localities, and he feels called upon to explain how a disembodied spirit can be confined in definite space. So he works it out that there are two ways in which the soul is united to the body.³¹ First, as the

²⁹ *Summa* III, Sup. LXIX, 1.

³⁰ *Sent.* IV, *Exp. tex.*

³¹ *Supplement* LXX, 3.

form to the matter : and this he says, cannot be the method in which the spirits of men or demons are fastened to the flames. Second—the soul may be in the matter as the motor to the mobile (*alio modo sicut movens mobili*). He admits that fire could not ordinarily so hold a spirit, but thinks that hell fire is specially endowed as the instrument of the divine vengeance.

It is not surprising that St. Thomas should be so concerned to disavow all notion of a spiritual body. The old foe had lately raised its head. He was a Dominican, and his master, St. Dominic had been one of the most effective instruments in the suppression of the Albigensian heresy. And the Albigensians were essentially dualists, pushing the notion of the evil of matter and of the body as matter to its extreme point.

His position repeats that of St. Augustine and has much the same reason behind it. His definite statements are all against the aerial body, but like Augustine he is perplexed by ghosts and by the apparitions raised by conjurers. He cannot deny that souls have been seen by the living, but concludes that the effect may be produced by good spirits or bad for the edification or deception of mankind, thereby complicating the matter with the same difficulty in which Augustine had floundered:—in what had the appearance of angels to men consisted?

Dante was not unaware of the long quarrel. In the *Convito* II: ix he says: "We witness unbroken experience of our immortality in the divinations of our dreams, which might not be if there were not some immortal part in us; inasmuch as the revealer, whether corporeal or incorporeal, must needs be immortal if we think it out subtly (and I say 'whether corporeal or incorporeal' because of the difference of opinion which I find in the matter)."⁸² There is much concerning these diversities in the very book of St. Augustine cited by Julian of Toledo and by Peter Lombard. We have seen also that Aquinas wavered and explained away his own positiveness.

Now Dante uncompromisingly accepted the doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh after the day of judgment.

Each one shall find again his dismal tomb,

Shall reassume the flesh and his own figure. Inf. VI: 35, 36.

⁸² Tr. P. H. Wicksteed.

they shall return
Here with the bodies they have left above. Inf. X: 11, 12.

[Cato died in Utica], where thou didst leave
The vesture that will shine so, the great day. Purg. I: 74, 75.

And the implication in the *Paradiso*⁸⁸ is that only angels may now be seen as they will appear at the last judgment, for the saints will then have the completion of their bodies, identical with those in which they walked on earth, but glorified.

Moreover in Dante's day the Albigensian heresy was dying out and he had no reason to be acutely conscious of the opposition of dualism to this doctrine, or of the danger to it involved in the admission of the possibility of an aerial body. Why then should he have had any orthodox scruples about the use of a conception which he had no intention of extending beyond the state of the dead intermediate between death and judgment? It was certainly a conception backed by the ages and by exceedingly good ecclesiastical authority, and condemned by Aquinas only to have the force of the condemnation explained away.

That this interpretation of his attitude is not strained is shown by the annotations of Pietro Alighieri. He brings in support of the idea of an aerial body the passage of Peter Lombard cited above, dwelling on his reference to Dives and Lazarus. He also speaks of St. Augustine's opinion both in the *Genesis* and in the *City of God*. Finally he carries the war into the enemy's country by remarking triumphantly—"Thomas against the Gentiles about the end says—'Such spirits shall suffer then from corporeal fire by a sort of constriction (*alligatio*). For spirits can be tied to bodies, either as their form, as the soul is tied to the human body to give it life, or without being the body's form, as magicians by diabolic powers tie spirits to images. Much more by divine power may spirits under damnation be tied to corporeal fire; and this is an affliction to them to know that they are tied to the meanest creatures for punishment.'" It may be noted here that Dante himself says that the aerial body is assumed only after the soul has found its destination—"place there circumscribeth it." Here he is certainly perfectly in accord

⁸⁸ XXX, 43 ff.

with St. Thomas, who is forced to admit some sort of connection with corporeal things in order that a disembodied soul may be confined in definite place.

We may be permitted to doubt whether St. Thomas would have recognized his supposed championship of the aerial body any more than St. Augustine would have recognized himself in the explanations of Julian and Peter Lombard, or Peter Lombard in Aquinas' explanation of him. But we may consider that we have very good grounds for believing that Dante no more suspected himself of contradicting St. Thomas Aquinas than Julian of Toledo and Peter Lombard suspected themselves of going contrary to the opinion of the "distinguished doctor Augustine" to which they so confidently referred.

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EUSTORG DE BEAULIEU, A DISCIPLE OF MAROT

INTRODUCTORY

EUSTORG DE BEAULIEU is one of the lesser poets of the early Renaissance whose name, if known to us at all, is associated with Protestant song-books, such as the *Chansonnier Huguenot*. That he was a prolific writer of secular poetry equal in merit to that of men whose names are more familiar to us, has been overlooked by most historians of literature.

The late Duc d'Aumale considered Beaulieu the only poet of the Renaissance who could be compared with Clément Marot (*Bulletin du Bibliophile*, Oct. 1867, p. 456), while as recent and as competent a scholar as Ad. van Bever voices the same opinion when he says, "Eustorg de Beaulieu, que nous considérons comme le meilleur disciple de Clément Marot, mériterait mieux que l'oubli de ses compatriotes et l'indifférence des lettrés (*Poètes du Terroir*, vol. 1, p. 527)." Clément-Simon, a scholar thoroughly versed in the history and literature of the Limousin, says of our poet:

Eustorg de Beaulieu n'est connu que des seuls bibliophiles. Et encore ses ouvrages sont-ils devenus si rares que la plupart ne les ont jamais vus. Il mérite mieux que cette obscurité. Non par tout son bagage, mais par un choix assez copieux, il a sa place marquée dans l'école de Marot, dont *il imite*, souvent avec bonheur, *l'élégant badinage*. Il ne vaut pas Saint-Gelais, mais il n'est pas inférieur à Heroët, à La Borderie, à Fontaine, à Bouchet, à Scève, ni aux ennemis de Marot, les Sagon, les La Huetterie, etc. Quelque dévot de ces premiers poètes de la Renaissance devrait bien réimprimer au moins ses meilleurs morceaux. Il apparaît que M. James de Rothschild, amateur très éclairé et qui goûtait fort notre poète, avait rassemblé tous les matériaux pour rééditer ses oeuvres avec une étude approfondie sur son talent et son caractère. Une mort prématurée a brisé ce projet. Espérons qu'il sera repris par un autre qui se gardera, cette fois, de reproduire, sans contrôle, les erreurs que nous venons de signaler.¹

¹ Clément-Simon, *Curiosités de la Bibliographie Limousine par un Bibliophile Corrésien*, Limoges, 1905, p. 31. An edition of the kind desired by Clément-Simon is in preparation by the author of this study.

Beaulieu is not an innovator. Both in form and in subject-matter he follows closely the models of his predecessors. He differs from many of his contemporaries in the fact that he is not a Humanist. There are but few classical allusions in his works. On the other hand he can also be distinguished from his fellow poets by the scarcity of love themes in his verse. In spirit he is closely allied to Villon and Collerye, in form to the Rhétoriciens and Marot.

We find no mention of Beaulieu's name in the many enumerations of poets in the verse of his contemporaries. Calvin and Viret, the leaders of the Reformation, are the only men who seemed to have had extensive dealings with him and who have left records of these dealings. A very brief notice in the bibliographies of Du Verdier and La Croix du Maine, a somewhat fuller one in Colletet's *Vies*, a few rather misleading paragraphs in *La France Protestante*, and several short articles written within the last fifty years, are, in addition to the works of the poet, the main sources of information.

I. EARLY YEARS

Eustorg de Beaulieu was born at Beaulieu-sur-Ménoire. The exact date of his birth still remains unknown, but judging from the facts of his life and the contemporaries with whom he associated we suppose it must have been between the years 1495 and 1500. He was most probably of noble origin. In a book published by him in 1550, we find a dedication to Magdaleine de Beaulieu, his niece, whose mother, he tells us, was a sister of the lords of Turenne. It was not customary for those of noble blood to marry outside of their rank.²

² The volume referred to is the *Espinglier des Filles*, Basle, 1550. Henri Bordier, in *La France Protestante*, 2d ed., Paris, 1879, vol. ii, p. 32, says: "Vers les premières années du seizième siècle, naquit dans la famille des *Seigneurs de Beaulieu* un garçon que l'on nomma Eustorg, du nom d'un saint du pays. Il est à croire, d'après un acte de partage qui remonte à l'année 1467 (*Collection Gaignières*, Bibl. Nat. ms. fr. 22421, f° 179) que le père s'appelait Raymond; l'acte spécifie une échange entre Raymond seigneur de Beaulieu et son frère Jehan, seigneur de Lavau, concernant divers biens de la succession de Jehan de Beaulieu leur père." If one reads those acts carefully, it may easily be discovered that they can in no way apply to our poet. Clément-Simon, in the work mentioned above, says concerning this statement on the part of Bordier: "Ayant découvert à la Bibliothèque nationale un acte concernant des seigneurs de Beaulieu, fieffés en *Haut-Limousin* (ou plutôt en Périgord), au milieu du xv^e siècle,

There is no trace of Beaulieu's family in the records of his native town. All search in that direction has thus far been fruitless. Louis de Veyrières, a poet of repute, born in the same town of Beaulieu and an authority on its history, succeeded in unearthing a large number of obscure Eustorgs, but no connection can be established between them and our poet.*

Eustorg de Beaulieu was the youngest of seven children, three girls and four boys. His father died when he was yet a child, and one of his brothers, Jacques, not very long afterwards. We know that the name of another of his brothers was Jean. In one of Beaulieu's epistles we find the following verses which concern his family :

Vray est (seigneur) que iadis mon feu pere,
Après auoir sans meschant vitupere,
Vescu son aage, & des biens amassez,
Fut mis au renc des paoures trespassez
Sans faire aulcun testament ne ordonnance,
Des susdictz biens qu'auoit en sa puissance,
Et delaissa (par son mortel deffiz),
C'est assauoir, troys filles, & quatre filz,
Dont suis le moindre à peine de lamende,
Et le dernier de tous ceulx de la bende,

il a jugé à propos, on ne sait par quelle fantaisie, de les donner pour ancêtres au poète Eustorg, né trente ou trente-cinq ans plus tard à l'extrémité du *Bas-Limousin*. Il n'y a pas même, dans le titre en question, une adminicule qui puisse donner jour à cette pure supposition et l'observation la plus superficielle en montre l'inanité." Clément-Simon cites other acts by which these same lords are known (Parchemin original, Nexon, Haute-Vienne). They also show very clearly that there can be no relation between our poet and the lords of Beaulieu. Clément-Simon is inclined to think Beaulieu of the "petite bourgeoisie", because the registers of the town of Beaulieu have yielded no information.

* Louis de Veyrières, author of the *Monographie du Sonnet*, Paris, 1869. His list includes :

5 mai 1513. Astorg de Beaulieu, le vieux, et Jean de Beaulieu, fils de Jean de Beaulieu.

1527. Astorg de Beaulieu, marchand.

The name "de Beaulieu" has been common in the Tiers-Etat since the thirteenth century. A Bernard de Beaulieu was consul in 1299. (From notes furnished by L. de Veyrières to Clément-Simon.) Cf. Deloche, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Beaulieu en Limousin* (Collection des Documents inédits), in-4°, 1859, which mentions the following: Sept., 1118, Eustorgius seu Austorgius episcopus Lemovicensis, etc.; 1106-1119, Privilegium Eustorgii episcopi de Cameriaco, etc.

Car ie n'auoye encore lict qu'ung berceau,
 Quand mon dict pere aualla le morceau
 Ou tous humains sont contraintz quoy qu'il couste.⁴

Upon his father's death a certain Pierre Amadon was appointed guardian to Eustorg and was made executor of his inheritance. As we shall see later, it was he who was responsible for its loss. Colletet states in his life of Beaulieu that:

Il perdit son père fort jeune comme il le dict en son vieux styllé dans une de ses épistres; (Car je n'avois encore lict qu'un berceau) et devenant bientost orphelin tout ensemble de père et de mère, qui se nommoit Jeanne de Bosredon; (O noble Jeanne, o Bosredon ma mere), il fut mis et ses frères dont il estoit le plus jeune avec ses sœurs entre les mains d'un tuteur qui, profitant laschement de cet avantage, joignit presque tous les biens de ses pupilles au siens propres, comme je l'apprends de la lecture d'une de ses épistres qu'il adresse à son rapporteur sur le subject d'un proces qu'il avoit au Parlement de Bordeaux où il demandait et reddition de compte et un nouveau partage avec ses cohéritiers.⁵

Beaulieu's mother died when he was young. Concerning her death he wrote the following rondeau.

O mort fascheuse & importune,
 Qui es a tous humains commune,
 Que ie suis contre toy despit
 Pource que n'as donné respit
 De viure plus de temps à une.
 Ou que i'eusse eu l'heure oportune
 Pour luy dire parolle a aulcune
 Ou croy qu'elle eust prins appetit,
 O mort fascheuse?

⁴ *Les Divers / Rapports / Contenant Plusieurs / Rondeaux, Dixains, & Balades / sur diuers propos, Chansons, Epi- / stres, / Ensemble une du coq a lasne*, etc. Lyon, Pierre de Sainte-Lucie, 1537. Small in-8v°, 150 ff., Epistre III, f° 70; Municipal Library of Versailles, fonds Goujet, n° 248. There is another copy of this edition in the library of the city of Troyes, but it is imperfect. A third copy is in the British Museum, Cat. Grenville, i, 65.

⁵ Colletet, *Vie d'Eustorg de Beaulieu, publiée d'après le manuscrit autographe de la bibliothèque du Louvre, Avec notes et appendice par P. Tamizey de Larroque*, Paris et Bordeaux, 1878.

Tu tournes plustost que la lune
 Ne que la roue de fortune,
 Qu'aux ungs donne perte ou credit.
 Las que ne t'est il interdit
 De meurtrir chascun & chascune,
 O mort fascheuse?*

Such is the meagre account of Beaulieu's parentage and childhood which we gather from his poems. Other records yield no information at all. Beaulieu probably remained in his native town until he was able to provide for his own existence. He tells us that he taught music, but it cannot be discovered where he studied that art, nor where he first practiced it. He writes to a gentleman whose name is unknown:

Noble seigneur vostre grace permette
 De m'enuoyer mon petit manicorde,
 Car il conuient que sa leçon recorde
 Sur icelluy une jeune fillette.[†]

These music lessons, however, were neither very numerous nor very profitable, for our poet refers more than once to poverty and hardships. His allusions to that well-known malady of "faute d'argent" or of "plate bource" are too frequent and too vivid not to be autobiographical, as, for instance, in the following:

Vouldriez vous pire maladie
 (Voire & feust ce mesellerie)
 Que n'auoir maille ne denier?
 Et (qu'est pis) se veoir desmer
 Credict par tout à chère hardie?
 Pour iouer une momerie
 Telle que *la grand dyablerie*,
 Qui n'a argent en faict mestier,
 Vouldriez vous pire?[‡]

Or again:

La bourse pleine ou d'or ou de monnoye,
 C'est le meilleur que ie soubhaiteroye,

* *Div. Rap.*, Rond. 61, de la mort de la mere de Lauteur, f° 28, v°.

† *Op. cit.*, Rond. 47, f° 22.

‡ *Div. Rap.*, Rond. 28.

Car vignes, champs, boys, prez & heritages,
Mentent souuent à plusieurs personnages
Qui ont espoir d'y auoir gaing & proye.⁹

In 1522 we find Beaulieu in the town of Lectoure, in the old province of Armagnac, now the department of Gers.^{9a} He came to that town to occupy the position of organist of the Cathedral. Probably he was still there in 1524, judging from the title of one of his poems, "Sensuit le In Manus du Peuple sur le Deluge qu'il craignoit Iadis aduenir, Lan mille cinq cens vingt & quatre."¹⁰

Emile Fage, another of Beaulieu's biographers, says in an article entitled "Eustorg de Beaulieu—Poète et Musicien du Seizième siècle" (*Bulletin de la Soc. des Lettres et Arts de la Corrèze*, 1880): "Il est à présumer que son voyage coïncide avec la fin de l'instance devant le parlement." This, however, was not until 1529. Clément-Simon, too, is inclined to reject the date given by Beauchamps. He says: "Nous n'avons pas la preuve du fait qui peut être exact, quoique le musicien fût encore bien jeune à cette date." The reason for this error on the part of Clément-Simon, who on the whole is absolutely trustworthy, is that he very probably did not consult the 1537 edition of the *Divers Rapports*. The 1544 edition which he used, and which is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, does not contain the two poems dated from Lectoure. In support of this supposition there is the following note of Clément-Simon: "L'administration de la Bibliothèque de Versailles ne communique cette rareté qu'avec toutes sortes de formalités rebutantes." The author of this study, however, had not only no difficulty in consulting the volume, but on the contrary met with the greatest courtesy on the part of the administration of the Versailles library.

In the "Pater de la Ville le Lectoure" we read:

⁹ *Op. cit.*, Rond. 50, f° 23, v°.

^{9a} This date was already noted by Beauchamps, one of his earliest biographers.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, f° 132 v°. The poem from which we get the first date (1522) is entitled "S'ensuit ung aultre Pater de la ville & Cite de Lectoure (en Armaignac) & Habitants dicelle, sur la Peste qui y regna, Lan mille cinq cens vingt & deux, estant Lauteur Organiste de Lesglise Cathedrale dicelle (f° 130)." Beauchamps, in his *Recherches sur les théâtres de France*, Paris, 1735, vol. I, p. 148, was the first to call attention to the date 1522. Tamisey de Larroque, in his notes to Colletet's *Vie*, thinks that it is difficult to reconcile this date with the extreme youth of the poet at the time.

Pater Noster qui d'une vierge munde
 Nasquis ça bas en cestuy mortel Monde,
 Ou as souffert mort pour nostre peche,
 Plaise toy Sire ou tout hault bien abonde,
 Avoir esgard a la dolleur profonde
 Dont le mien Peuple est surprins & tache
 Ton glayue (hellas) si fort la detrenche,
 Que presque toutz ia sont ensepueliz,
 Recoys les donq, toy *Qui es in celis*.

In this poem Beaulieu tells of the harrowing effects of the plague which ravaged the town in 1522. But this was not the only misfortune with which the inhabitants were threatened, for the following year it was prophesied that a flood would wipe out Lectoure.

Lan subsequent Mil cinq cens vingt & quatre,
 Il doibt venir, ains que lon faict bruyt,
 Ung grand Deluge, auquel seray destruiet,
 Mais, ma famille a toy (sans rien rabatre)

Commendo. . . .

'Au bon Noe tu as promis sans faulte
 Que n'aurions plus Deluge a laduenir,
 Dont te plaira de ce te souuenir,
 Veu que tu es (seul) en Mageste haulte

Deus veritatis

Et si tu fais que ainsi point ie ne meure
 Entre Poissons & Loups de Mer famiz,
 Ie te prometz que des maulx quay commis
 Porteray peyne, & suyuray sans demeure

Vias tuas Domine. . . .

The tone of this poem can hardly be called very respectful! In another of his poems Beaulieu mentions the name of Iehan Barton, who was bishop of Lectoure at the time that he was organist of the Cathedral.¹¹ Of this bishop we know the following:

Iohannes. II. Iohannes de Barton filius Bernardi vice comitis Monbasii, & Mariae de Sully, abbas commendatarius S. Augustini

¹¹ *Div. Rap.*, 1537, Sensuivent aucuns Noms, & sur Noms tournez: Le 5, Iehan Barton, euesque de lectore. Arbre ente de ce que lon souhaicte.

Lemovicensis cessione Petri sui patruī ab anno 1501. nactus quoque *est possessionem episcopatus Lectorensis anno 1513.* cedente altero patruo suo Guillelmo, cum jam fuisset consecutus titulum episcopi Atheniensis. *Hic praesul antiquo ecclesiae choro restaurando diligenter incubuit.* Nec id satis fuit studio quo flagrabat erga domum Dei; nam ejusdem ecclesiae rudibus reperta sunt antiqua marmora & inscriptiones. &c. Turbatus est Johannes in possessione hujus cathedrae anno 1529. Episcopatum tamen nunquam dimisit Johannes, & in ea dignitate mortuus est die 21 Septembris anno 1544. (*Gallia Christiana*, vol. I, columns 1085, 1086.)

There were three bishops of the Limousine house of Barton who occupied, successively, the bishopric of Lectoure from 1512-1569. and attracted to that town many of their compatriots. It was natural, therefore, that Jehan Barton, who was interested in music, should have called Beaulieu, already enjoying renown for his skill in that art, to the cathedral to fill the place of organist.

In a poem published in 1529 Beaulieu signs himself "prestre."¹²

II. MUSICIAN AND POET.—TULLE AND BORDEAUX

We now come to a period in Beaulieu's life about which we again know very little except from his works. It is necessary to feel our way carefully through the mass of undated material and try to retrace our author's foot-steps. He left Lectoure, then, not earlier than in 1524, as has already been shown in the preceding chapter. The next étape of which there is any certainty is the city of Tulle, but there is nothing in Beaulieu's poems to show whether he went there directly, or lingered in other places on his way. The *Divers Rapports* contains many poems addressed to prominent personages of Tulle, and in more than one of these poems Beaulieu speaks of his having resided there.¹³

¹² "Gestes des solliciteurs." We shall speak of this poem in a later chapter. He was probably simply the holder of a "bénéfice".

¹³ Bordier, in his article on Beaulieu, in *La France Protestante*, 2d ed., Paris, 1884, says: "Il ne s'y tint guère (referring to Beaulieu's sojourn in Lectoure, 1522), il est vrai, car l'année d'après il était à Tulle, enrôlé dans la basoche. Mais en feuilletant les recueils de vers qu'il publia plus tard, et qui sont la principale source où se puissent découvrir les détails de sa vie, rien ne témoigne de son zèle pour l'étude de jurisprudence, tandis que plusieurs pièces le montrent bazochien joyeux, versifiant pour les fêtes publiques, pour le théâtre, et pour l'amour." There is no reason to believe that Beaulieu came to Tulle in 1523,

From one of his rondeaux we learn that Beaulieu taught music in Tulle. Perhaps his reputation as a musician preceded him, and he was therefore offered lessons in some of the prominent families of the city. This particular rondeau is addressed to the brother of a young lady of Tulle who was his pupil:

Francillon, ne faict que penser
 (Plus que de s'aller confesser)
 A la lecon de lespinette,
 Et ne peult dormir la fillette,
 Tant elle y pense sans cesser.

Elle y vacque plus qu'a danser,
 Car faict (en honneur) temps passer
 Ce doulx ieu que scavoir souhaite
 Francillon.
 Elle ne faict que commencer,
 Mais s'elle ne s'en veult lasser,
 (Sans trop fort se y rompre la teste)
 En ce ieu tant beau & honneste,
 On fera maitresse passer
 Francillon.¹⁴

Beaulieu's good fortune does not seem to have been of very long duration. In a ballad entitled "Ballade mise en ung tableau à la porte de la maison d'une Chapelle qu'il a en la ville de Tulle, intitulée la paoreté,"—he admits that he was confined in that asylum for the destitute and the debauched. Unfortunately it seems that his case does not come under the first category.

Salut a vous tous peruers & iniques,
 Chaulx & lubricques, tant ecclesiastiques
 Que mecaniques, & nobles, & villains,
 Iouers, trompeurs, & remplis de trafficques,

for there is no documentary evidence to prove it. On the other hand, we have the *In Manus* referred to in the preceding chapter, which tells of the deluge predicted at Lectoure in 1524, and it is only reasonable to suppose that Beaulieu was still there when he wrote about it.

¹⁴ *Div. Rap.* f° 32 v°, "le octantiesme rondeau, envoye de par Lauteur au frere dune Jeune Dame de la ville de Tulle en Lymosin, pour lors son escoliere." (This rondeau is really the seventieth.)

De ces cronicques notez bien les rubriques
 Tresautenticques & iurez tous les saintz,
 Qu'ung iour (mal sains) m'apporterez les grains
 Prins par voz mains es champs d'iniquité,
 Iusques à lhuys de ceste paoureté.

Braues, bragardz, couuers de mirelifiques,
 Sotz fantastiques suyans voyes obliques,
 Folz lunatiques & tous foybles des reins,
 Apres vos faictz et gestes impudiques,
 Vaines praticques & moyens falcifiques,
 Dyabolicques, & trop plus que inhumaines,
 Venez aumoins veoir là où ie remains,
 Et de voz gaings portez la cothité
 Iusques à lhuys de ceste paoureté.

Prince prodigue, aulcuns folz trop haultains
 Pres & loingtains, sont tous seurs & certains
 D'estre contrainctz venir par equité
 Iusques à lhuys de ceste paoureté.¹⁵

Here again we find Bordier in error. First he reads *paorette* instead of *paoureté*! He speaks of the house as: "chapelle ou abbaye pour rire et pour boire qu'improvisaient volontiers les bazochiens et autres étudiants en vue d'alimenter leurs jeux avec l'argent des bons bourgeois." It is difficult to see how he came to so misinterpret the lines. This chapel, far from being a place for drinking and laughter, was the chapel of a vicarage called the *Pau-
reté*, an annex to the asylum for the poor of Tulle. It figures in the *Pouillés*, and is known by many acts.

Among the poems written in Tulle is a rondeau which our poet addresses to the women of that city: "De la grace, & gestes des Filles de la ville de Tulle,"¹⁶ and a ballad entitled "A la louenge des filles de la ville de Tulle," in which he declares that to see beautiful women one must go to that city, for

Ville à lentour ny a, ne la, ne ailleurs,
 (De sa grandeur) ou ayt plus de fillage,

¹⁵ *Div. Rap.*, f° 58. On the relation of this ballad to Rabelais, "Inscription mise sus la grande porte de Theleme," a note is to appear presently by the author of this study in the *Revue du seizième siècle*.

¹⁶ *Div. Rap.*, f° 35.

Belle assez, de ce soyez tous seurs,
 Et si ont grace en leur parler ramage,
 Et chantent bien (ie dis) selon l'usage
 De leur pays, mais vous debuez noter
 Que qui les hante y pense s'il est sage,
 Car tel se y prend qui ne s'en peult oster.¹⁷

In another poem he appears as champion of the city, ardently defending its virtue. In answer to those who claim that its sole product is turnips, he says:

Et si tu dis qu'il n'a que montz & vaulx
 En Lymosin, & ny croist que Naueaulx,
 Raues, & Glan, & que entre ces montaignes
 N'a bled, ne vin, ne fruit que des Chastaignes
 On prouuera si ne le veult nyer,
 Par elle mesme, & monsieur le premier,
 Qu'entre ces boys, ces montz, & ces vallées,
 On faict souuent de bonnes assemblées,
 Et y fine on de bons vins & morceaulx,
Car raues sont pour nourrir les pourceaulx,
 Chastaignes, Glan, & semblable dragée.¹⁸

Beaulieu assures the recipient of the above epistle that the country is very fertile, and above all he praises the honesty of the Limousins and the kindness of the residents of Tulle. In the same poem he enumerates the various kinds of fish to be found in Tulle:

Comme Saulmons, Lamproyes, & Barbeaulx,
 Carpes, Brochetz, non point de Macquereaulx,
 De Lymassons, de Chancres, ne Escreuisses,
 Car nous laissons cels pour les nourrisses.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, la 12^e ballade, f° 60.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, La seconde Epistre, f° 68 v°. Cf. Claude Bigothier's *Rapina seu Raporum encomium*, 1540. Dr. J. L. Gerig, in an article on Barthélemy Aneau (*Romanic Review*, vol. 1, p. 194), paraphrases Bigothier when he writes: "To what does Aneau owe these exceptional powers? The answer is only too obvious, says Bigothier, it is merely because he eats turnips! We may be astonished at such an answer, but all our doubts are dispelled when Bigothier informs us that the protector of the turnip is Apollo, the same God who protects learning!" Cf. J. de Boysson, *Carmina*, fol. 52, Elegia n° XLIV.

Non desunt fontes, non desunt dulcia vina.
 Castaneae non desunt, non pira, poma, nuces; . . .

Furthermore he informs us that he has a house not far from the home of a daughter of one of his friends, and complains to this gentleman, "Saint-Simon, that the young lady, who was his pupil, fails to visit him :

Sachez seigneur que celle Marguerite
De ta semence engendrée & produicte,
Nagueres vint nous voir en Lymousin,
T'aduertissant que ie suis son voysin,
Et n'a despace à une maison sienne
Plus de troys pas à une qui est mienne.¹⁹

It was during his residence in Tulle that Beaulieu began to sue for his inheritance. In the above mentioned epistle he writes to Arnoul, "seigneur de saint Symon, au pays de Xaintonge, & conseiller du roy nostre sire, en sa court de Parlement à Bordeaux" :

Dont vouldroye bien que Bordeaux fust remis
Au lieu de Tulle, ou Tulle proprement
Fust ung Bordeaux ou fust le parlement,
Pour & affin que fisse aulcun seruice
A la susdicte, & mieulx mes proces visse.

Elsewhere he gives Arnoul the description of his family, which has been cited in the preceding chapter, and goes into the details of his law-suit. Beaulieu entreats his counsellor above all to be just :

Pource supplie ie Eustorg de Beaulieu,
Ce sac duquel, & proces, as en garde,
Que bien au long tes clers yeulx les regarde,
Mais que ce soit au nom de Dieu en bref,
Pour en iuger sans faire tort ne grief
A moy n'a aultre, ains me faces iustice,
Mais de cela ne fault que t'aduertisse,
Car n'as le bruyt de faire aulcunement
Contre raison aulcun faulx iugement,
Et de pieça on t'en donne la fame
Dont as acquis los, en lieu de diffame.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, f° 68 v°.

Te plaise (doncq) escouter & noter
Ce qu'a present te scauray racompter.²⁰

After the death of Beaulieu's father and elder brother, another brother of his wished to find out what part of the inheritance would fall to him. This was arranged according to the law, and he was finally allotted his share. As our poet was but a child at the time, the magistrate put him under the care of a guardian, who, however, helped to squander his share of the patrimony.

Or lors voyant le iuge ma saison,
Qui pas n'estoit d'user de grand raison,
Si me bailla dessoubz la charge & cure
D'ung curateur, qui n'en eust pas grand cure,
Et de mon bien ne print aucun esmoy,
Ne aux lotz partis ne choysit onc pour moy,
Comme i'entendz prouver par mon enqueste,
Dont de la veoir te fais humble requeste.

A certain Iehan Coste, however, a relative of Beaulieu, tried to prove that the poet's mother and a person by the name of Lavadour were given the custody of Eustorg. He himself maintains, however, that these assertions are false.

Ce qui est faulx, & la raison est telle,
Car il produyct, & ie produys aussi,
L'acte du faict disans sans cas ne si,
Que vrayement le iuge de Turenne
Ordonna (seul) ung bachelier qui regne
Et vit encor, pour estre mon guydon,
Lequel a nom maistre Pierre Amadon,
Et l'instrument, aussi, dudict partage
Ne nomme aucun que ce seul personnage,
Lequel (sans plus) le iuge decreta
Mon curateur, qui mal sen acquita.

Since, at the time of the division of the inheritance, all the shares were somewhat confused, the judge assigned the seventh part, which

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, "La tierce Epistre, en forme de Raisons de Droict iadis enuoyee de par Lauteur, audict seigneur de Saint Symon, son rapporteur en ung proces qu'il auoit à Bordeaux" (f° 70).

belonged to the deceased brother, to Beaulieu's mother. To this part Beaulieu makes no claim. It is for the sixth share that he contends. His part also contained the inheritance of his sister—for these two shares were in the same parcel; and the poet therefore asks for a new division, so that each heir might receive the exact amount allotted. This complicated transaction is expressed as follows:

Car au partage estant tout barbouillé,
Fut par edit du iuge lors baillé
A noble Iehanne de Bosredon ma mere,
Le part septiesme au bien de mon feu frere,
Laquelle part ie ne querelle point,
Et ne veulx rien, pource note bien ce point.²¹

Beaulieu does not deny that before the final division of the patrimony, he sold a part of his share in his own name, but he protests that the sale was invalid for the following reasons:

Premierement cest pource que iamais
Nul payement n'en euz ie te prometz,
Secondement pource que (quoy qu'on die)
Lachapteur oncq n'en iouyst de sa vie,
Car ma partie auoit par griefz & tortz
La piece encor, que ie vendis alors
Et la tenoit, voire encor la possede
Contre raison dont par trop il excede.
Et tiercement le iuge de Beaulieu
Ne s'enquist point si i'auoys fait ce ieu
Et ceste vente à mon desaduantage,
Combien qu'il sceust que i'estoys mineur d'aage.
Le point quatriesme est que sans mon recteur
Ie feiz tel vente & sans mon curateur,
Qui est le point, lequel seul doit souffire

²¹ *Op. cit.*, f° 72. In Bordier's article we read: "Cette même année il ententa un procès à sa famille en rescision du précédent partage. Ce n'est point à sa louange, car il se fondait sur ce que l'un de ses frères étant mort, on devrait diviser l'hoirie paternelle en six parts, tandis qu'on en avait fait sept à fin d'en laisser une à la mère." It is difficult to see anything in the poem which implies a hostile attitude on the part of Beaulieu toward his mother. He plainly states that he does not lay claim to the share allotted to her.

Pour replicquer à ceulx qu'ont voulu dire
 Qu'a moy *prouiso*, non *detur prouiso*,
 Car pour certain quand *ad ce, beneficio*
 Que ma partie oncq ne monstrera lettre,
 En tout son sac, ou il face apparoistre
 Que maistre Pierre Amadon, curateur
 De moy mineur, fusse oncq acceptateur,
 Ne consentant que feisse une telle vente,
 Car sa personne estoit bien absente.
 Doncq, tel contract ne peult, comme tu scaiz
 Trop mieulx que moy, rien nuyre à mon proces. . . .

It is gratifying to learn, after following all these intricate legal proceedings and discussions, that Beaulieu won his case. In an epistle addressed to Bernard de Lahet, "aduocat du Roy, en sa court de Parlement, à Bordeaulx," he expresses his thankfulness for all the favors the latter bestowed upon him, and for the great interest he took in his law-suit. To Saint Simon, thanks to whom his suit met with success, he expresses gratitude in the following manner:

Qu'en mon proces fut commis rapporteur,
 Dont, grace à Dieu i'eus par son raport heur,
 Car me garda, sans faueur ne malice,
 Tresbien mon droit, en forme de iustice.²²

Our poet was apparently on very friendly terms with his solicitor, for in the above epistle he asks Lahet whether he is still as fond of the organ and of the spinet as he used to be, and reminds him of the times when, instead of going to sleep, he would take a book of songs and spend half of the night in singing together with him. According to Beaulieu, Lahet was a great patron of music. As an indication of the wealth and generosity of the lawyer, Beaulieu men-

²² *Div. Rap.*, f° 66. For Bernard de Lahet and Nicolas Arnoul, consult the *Histoire du Parlement de Bordeaux*, 1878, vol. I, p. 79. Cf. also, Fleury Vindry, *Les Parlementaires français au xvi^e siècle*, Paris, 1910, vol. II, Part I, p. 124: "Bernard de Lahet, avocat général au Parlement de Bordeaux. Il était étudiant à Toulouse en 1514, lecteur en 1516, avocat du roi à l'amirauté de Guyenne de 1521 à 1529, avocat général au Parlement de Bordeaux de 1529 à 1560. Il est mort en 1562 à Bordeaux"; p. 165, "Nicolas Arnoul, fils de Guy Arnoul et de Marguerite de Soubzmoulins, conseiller au Parlement de Bordeaux dès 1519, mort en août 1548."

tions the fact that throughout the famine of 1529, good cheer did not cease to reign in his house:

C'estoit, en lan mil cinq cens vingt & neuf,
 Qu'ung pain d'ung liard n'estoit plus gros qu'ung oeuf,
 Voire, ne fut cent ans auant cherté
 Telle qu'alors ne si grand poureté.
 Ce nonobstant, à tes coustz & despens,
 Tu tins maison ouuerte, à plusieurs gens.
 I'en suis tesmoings qui ne le puis nyer. . . . (*Epistre premiere.*)

Among Lahet's protégés was the famous musician Janequin:

Et pour plus estre à la musicque enclin
 Tu t'acointois Clement Iennequin,
 Et d'autres mains, tous gens d'experience
 Et ou gisoit musicalle science.²³

This little glimpse into the economic conditions of the time is both interesting and valuable. The *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris sous le Règne de François I^{er}*, contains the following remarks concerning this famine:

Audict an mil cinq cens vingt neuf, le dimanche xxv^e avril après Pasques, y eust à Lyon grande mutinerie, à cause de la charté des bledz qui y estoit auparavant par l'espace plus de trois mois et environ(dans) la ville, tellement que le bichet de bled, mesure de Lyon, valloit huict solz, dont les huict bichetz vallent environ un septier à la mesure de Paris. . . . Ceste année mesmes les bledz furent aussi fort chers en Italie, asçavoir à Gennes et à Milan, là où ilz vallurent plus de douze ducatz le septier, à la mesure de Paris, et plus de vingt ducatz à Rome. Et à Paris et partout le royaume de France furent pareillement fort chers, mesmement à Paris, là où ilz vallurent de quatre à cinq livres le septier.²⁴

A further reference to this famine is contained in another poem of Beaulieu's, entitled "Sensuit ung aultre, In Manus, du Peuple

²³ For Janequin cf. Eitner, *Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker u. Musikgelehrten*, Leipzig, 1900. Also Guy Lefèvre de La Borderie, in his *Galliede ou De la révolution des Arts et Sciences*, fol. 125 r^o. Bibl. Nat. Rés. Y^o. 519.

²⁴ Bourrilly, *Le Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, Paris, 1910, pp. 322, 323.

qui mourut par la grand Famine, qui regna tout lan Mil cinq cens vingt & neuf, mesmement au Pays de Guyenne." He says that during the year

Soixante Solz couste ung Boisseau Dauoyne,
Et quatre Escus ung de Seigle ou Froment.²⁵

From Tulle Beaulieu went to Bordeaux, where his law-suit was so successfully tried. In 1529 he published in that same city the *Gestes des Solliciteurs*, a lengthy poem describing the abuses of courts of justice. A large part of the poem is undoubtedly no more than an account of his own experiences, somewhat exaggerated, perhaps, but not at all improbable. This is the first published work from the pen of our poet, and the second French book to be printed in Bordeaux.²⁶ The work must have enjoyed great popularity for it went through three editions within eight years. Apparently an exposure of graft and bribery interested the public then quite as much as it does today!

The following year, in all probability, he published another volume, a sequel to the first, entitled *Sensuyt le Pater et Aue des Solliciteurs de proces Surnommez bateurs de paue de credit souuent repoulez*.²⁷ This poem, like its companion, has quotations from

²⁵ *Div. Rap.*, f° 133 v°.

²⁶ *Les Gestes des Solliciteurs / Ou les lisans pourront cognoistre / Quest ce de solliciteur estre / Et qui sont leurs reformateurs*. Small in-4° goth., of 10 ff. On the second folio we read: Les gestes des solliciteurs composez par maistre Eustorg de Beaulieu, prestre. At the end of the volume: Imprime a Bourdeaux le vingt et troisieme jour de aoust l'an mille cinq cens xxix, par Iehan Guyart, imprimeur. . . . Cf. Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, art. Beaulieu, and the catalogue Armand Bertin, n° 405, sold for 60 fr. The copy belonged to the Audenet library. It is described in the *Tablettes du bibliophile de Guyenne*, vol. I, Bordeaux, 1869. Cf. also Picot, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Rothschild*, vol. I, n° 518, etc.

For Jean Guyart, see Delpit, *Origines de l'imprimerie en Guyenne*, Bordeaux, 1869, p. 25. It was thought that Guyart was the first printer of Bordeaux, but Delpit proved that Gaspard Phillipe held that honor.

There was a second edition of the *Gestes* in 1530, and a third in 1537. Cf. *Cat. Rothschild*, n° 518, 519. The edition of 1537 belonged to the library of Desbarreaux-Bernard of Toulouse, and was sold to James Rothschild for 305 francs. For the complete text of the *Gestes*, consult Harvitt, *ROMANIC REVIEW*, vol. II, No. 3.

²⁷ This volume bears neither place nor date. It is an in-4° goth., of 4 ff. It is described in Brunet, and in the *Dictionnaire des anonymes* (Barbier). The

the Scriptures in the margin. It ends with a "triollet" execrating law-suits:

'A tous les diables les proces
Et qui premier les composa,
Car plusieurs en sont destroussez.²⁸

Just as he found occasion to extol the glory of Tulle, so Beaulieu now takes the opportunity to express his gratitude for all the good fortune which befell him in the city of Bordeaux:

Plaisant Bordeaux, noble & royal domaine,
Du grand honneur & plaisir qui m'as fait,
Graces te rendz (apres Dieu tout parfait),
Et mesmement a ta court souueraine.²⁹

It was about this time that Beaulieu wrote a lengthy poem upon the death of François de la Tour, viscount of Turenne, who died in 1532. This poem gives a very detailed account of the life and the activity of the well known ambassador of François I^{er}.³⁰ Beaulieu seems to have been well acquainted with the viscount. He tells how the latter had promised to take the town of Beaulieu under his personal care and to reform its administration, but he died before he was able to carry out his plans:

Et toy, Beaulieu, vien t'en gemir & plaindre
Ton vray seigneur, car s'il eust peu atteindre

copy, which belonged to Cailhava (n° 315), was sold for 150 francs. It is now to be found in the Rothschild library (n° 520). Like the *Gestes* it was reprinted in the *Divers Rapports* of 1537, but with many changes. Emile Picot, in the *Catalogue Rothschild*, says that the volume bears the wood-cuts used by Jacques Moderne of Lyons, at the top and bottom of the page, but that the characters are unlike those of Moderne.

²⁸ Beaulieu returns more than once to this subject. In the *Divers Rapports* we find three rondeaux on the same theme (the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth). In the first he tells us that to have a law-suit, "c'est pis que grosse verolle"; in the second, "c'est pis que fiebure ung seul proces auoir"; and in the third he consigns all law-suits "au plus profond du creux lac Plutonicque." His experience with the courts did not leave him with very pleasant memories.

²⁹ *Div. Rap.*, f° 64, La neuvieme chanson, "a la louenge de la ville de Bordeaux."

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, f° 142 v°, "Brefue deploration de feu tresillustre Seigneur François de la Tour, En son viuant visconte de Turenne." This poem, however, in spite of its title, is far from being brief.

Encor ung peu, promis auoit sa foy
 De reformer tes meurs & ton desroy,
 Et te reduire a paix, ordre & police,
 Faisant regner (mieulx que iadis) iustice.

The town of Beaulieu was under the jurisdiction of the consuls and viscount of Turenne and the Benedictine abbey. In the epistle to Nicolas Arnoul which we cited above (*Div. Rap.*, f° 70), Beaulieu states that his guardian was appointed by the magistrate of Turenne. It is very natural that he should dedicate a poem to his honor. He describes the generosity and kindness of François de la Tour :

En Lymosin fut son primitif regne,
 Ou il estoit viconte de Turenne,
 Mainte autre place & villes & chasteaulx
 Estoiert à luy, & domaines tresbeaulx,
 Par sur lesquelz ny a seigneur en France
 Qu'ayt sur son bien plus franche iouyssance,
 Tesmoing de ce la grande liberté
 Des habitans d'icelle viconté.

A son trespas n'auoit ce personnage
 Trente & huyt ans accomplis par son aage.
 Ce neantmoins (oyant son bon renom)
 Le Roy Francoys, Francoys premier du nom,
 Pieça l'auoit, congnoissant ses vaillances,
 Ordonné chef de soixtante & dix lances,
 Et telle charge, au vray bien meritoit,
 Car tres prudent & belliqueux estoit.

Later the king made him "chevalier de son ordre," and not long afterwards he gave him the command of more than one hundred knights.

Puis l'ordonna au pays Lyonnois
 Son lieutenant, pour ung faict de grand pois,
 Qu'il exploicta, si bien sans defaillance
 Qu'on l'estima le paragon de France.

Pope Clement the Seventh appointed François de la Tour mediator between him and the Venetians, and the king, appreciating his dip-

lomatic talents, singled him out for negotiating the weightiest questions of state. Later the king again showered great honors upon him by appointing him governor of the Ile de France, and then put him in charge of the forest of Vincennes. All these honors, however, did not change his character, for he remained ever liberal and sympathetic:

Ce sceurent ceulx qu'il eust dessoubz sa charge,
Ausquelz il fut si liberal & large,
Què capitaine oncq fust ne cheualier,
Et si courtoys, franc, doulx, & familier,
Que lon disoit par toute la prouince,
O l'honneste homme, o qu'il sert bien son prince.

Bref, s'il eust eu vie plus longuement,
N'eust peu faillir d'auoir le maniment
De plus d'honneurs, & plus de biens terrestres
Que n'eurent oncq ses louables ancestres,
Car Papes, Roys, & tous princes loingtains
Tant D'angleterre, Espagne, & Transmontains
Deuers les quelz souuent fait le voyage,
L'auoyent trouue tant eloquent, & sage,
Qu'au desloger de leurs terre & pays,
Le regrettoient & estoient esbahys
De sa prudence & honneste faconde,
Disant (entre eulx) c'est Cicero au monde.

When François de la Tour fell ill, the king visited him many times, giving him courage and comfort, and even Marguerite de Navarre, sister of the king, came to see him. He had at his bedside all the physicians and surgeons of the court, and no efforts were spared to save his life. On his death-bed he expressed the wish to be buried in his native town of Brive, and this wish was carried out with great solemnity. Beaulieu composed two epitaphs to commemorate his noble career.⁸¹

⁸¹ *Op. cit.*, f° 138 v°, 139 v°. For François de la Tour cf. Moreau, *La prise et délivrance du roy, venue de la royne . . . et recouvrement des enfans de France, 1524-1530*. (*Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France*, II, p. 251): "Monseigneur de Turenne, François de la Tour II du nom, vicomte de Turenne, né le 5 juillet 1497, et mort en 1532 . . . seigneur de Turenne, chevalier de l'ordre du Roy, cappitaine de cent gentils hommes de la maison du dict seigneur, très vaillant et notable personnage". Cf. Justel, *Histoire généalogique de la maison*

It is again necessary to stop to correct an error on the part of Bordier. In two poems, written about 1533 or 1534, Beaulieu speaks of a certain Charlotte de Maumont. The title of the first one is "De par ung gentilhomme a une dame, laquelle il deuroit avoir en mariage," and that of the second, "Contenant la responce dung Noble & reuerant Conte. . appelé Charles Destaing, a une lettre que luy auoit faict tenir (par Lauteur) Honneste & noble Damoyse, Charlotte de Maumont, sa cousine."⁸²

Bordier refers to the young lady as the "dame de ses pensées." Besides, he says of the two poems mentioned above: "Ces dernières sont les plus sérieuses; elles sont faites pour une jeune fille de noble maison qu'il désirait épouser, Mlle. Charlotte de Maumont sa cousine. Elle le refusa, lui renvoya en vers aussi, ses vers et ses présents, et il est possible que ce soit par une inspiration de dépit ou de chagrin qu'Eustorg soit entré, comme il le fit, dans la vie ecclésiastique."⁸³ It would have lent quite a romantic touch to Beaulieu's life had it been true that he entered the priesthood on account of a broken heart, but the facts are very much against the sentimental biographer. Unfortunately it should not be forgotten that as early as 1529 Beaulieu signed himself "prestre" (*Gestes des Solliciteurs*). Besides, one simply cannot read the titles to mean that Beaulieu was a cousin of Charlotte de Maumont. The following citation will also show how erroneous is Bordier's interpretation:

*Le tien cousin, qu'en oubly ne peult mettre
Le temps passé, n'a pas voulu obmettre
De te respondre aux lettres qu'ay receues,
Par maistre Eustorg, lesquelles apperceues,
Monstrent ton sens, bon en perfection,
Dont ay conceu plus grande affection
De t'estimer & dire somme toute,
Que de vertu tu es la passe route. . .*

Further in the poem her real cousin speaks of the count of Roussy:

Qui t'ayme bien, comme i'ay peu congnoistre.

d'Auvergne, 1645. Also Hauser, *Sources de l'Histoire de France, XVI^e siècle*, vol. II, p. 42.

⁸² *Op. cit.*, f° 75 v° and f° 78 v°.

⁸³ *La France Protestante*, article Beaulieu.

Le dict seigneur, (ie le te faictz scauloir)
 Ne passoit iour sans te ramenteuoir,
 Et luy, & moy, de foyz ung million,
 Te eussions voulu veoir pour lors à Lyon.

Or cependant, pour que la fin ie face,
 Me recommandant a ta tresbonne grace,
 Priant à Dieu (*ma cousine m'amy*)
 Qu'en tout honneur te tienne en longue vie.

As any one can see, there is nowhere question of Beaulieu except as carrier of the letter. The writer of the epistle is Charles d'Estaing, cousin of Charlotte de Maumont.⁸⁴ She came from one of the most illustrious families of the Limousin, and was the daughter of Charles de Maumont, lord of Maumont, baron of Roche-Limosy, viscount of Bridiers. Her mother was Anne de Bourdeille, sister of Brantôme. Charlotte was maid of honor to the queen Eleanor, the second wife of Francis the First, and one of the great favorites of the court. She was the mistress of the Dauphin, who died in 1536. Before receiving his attentions, she was asked in marriage, according to the legend, by the count of Roussy. She received a ring from him in token of his affection. One day a friend of hers, noticing the ring, confessed that she was once its possessor. Charlotte, wounded by her suitor's perfidy, returned the ring to its former owner. The count was greatly incensed by her conduct. This story was very well known and Beaulieu had surely heard of it. The part he played in the intrigue was to put it into verse. Of the incident of the ring he writes:

Mais demander que vous trouuez estrange
 Que de la bague aye faict ung eschange,
 En la rendant à qui elle appartient,
 Je vous demande, est ce à moy ou il tient,
 Ou bien à vous, & par quel moyen
 Peult on donner à nul ce qui n'est sien?
 Ainsi que vous celle bague susdicte

⁸⁴ For a Lestang family see Clément-Simon, *Célébrités de la ville de Brive, Les de Lestang, Les Meynard de Lestang, Les Polverel*. Paris, Champion. (From the *Bulletin de la Société Scientif., Histor., et Archéol., de la Corrèze*, vol. XIV.) "Lestang" may be a variant spelling of "d'Estaing."

Feistes à moy? Car la raison desduicte
 Elle n'estoit à vous aulcunement,
 Dont ne debuez prendre esbahissement.
 Si ne l'ay plus, ains chose plus estrange,
 Et de vous mesmes, & moindre de louange,
 De m'en auoir faict present en ce point
 Considéré que vostre n'estoit point.⁸⁵

In a "Coq à Lasne enuoyee de par Lauteur a Noble Charlotte de Maumont pours lors damoyselle de la royne," Beaulieu takes the occasion to ask the young lady for a small ecclesiastic charge:

O qu'il y a de gens infames,
 A faulte d'auoir bien de quoy,
 Combien que ne scay sur ma foy
 S'il fault que ie vous aduertisse
D'impetrer pour moy ung office
 D'ung des Presidens de la court,
 Non, que dys ie? ie suis bien lourd,
 Mais *ung office qu'on apelle*
Aumosnier, ou clerc de chapelle. (*Div. Rap.*, Epistre X, f° 84.)

According to Bordier, Beaulieu was a member of the "Bazoche" while at Tulle. He bases his statement on a rondeau "présenté par le Roy de la Bazoche de Tulle a monsieur de Montchenu, Seneschal du pays de Lymosin le iour qu'il y fait son entrée." This rondeau, however, was merely written by Beaulieu for the occasion, and does not appear to imply in any way that he was a member of that body. The text of the rondeau is as follows:

Si ne m'acquite a vostre aduenement
 (Noble seigneur) aussi suffisamment
 Que meritoit vostre grand seigneurie,
 Pardonnez moy, car ie vous certifie
 Que le bref temps cause l'empeschement.

⁸⁵ *Div. Rap.*, Epistre VII, f° 80. For Charlotte de Maumont, cf. Clément-Simon, *Charlotte de Maumont, fille d'honneur de la reine Eléonore, femme de François I^{er}*, Tulle, 1889, in-8°. (*Bulletin de la Soc., des lettres, sciences, et arts de la Corrèze.*) For Jean de Maumont, brother of Charlotte, a prolific writer, consult Clément-Simon's *Curiosités*, p. 104, sqq.

Mes gens ne moy, n'auons sceu nullement
Vostre venue hors mis tant seulement
Depuis deux iours, pource mercy vous crye
Si ne m'acquitte.
La republicque, & la court mesmement,
Et la Bazoche ont espoir grandement
Avoir soubz vous amour & paix unie,
Et veult chascune estre par vous regie,
Mais supportez elles & moy (pourtant)
Si ne m'acquitte.³⁶ (Romd. 53, f° 25.)

It was probably in the fall of 1534 that Beaulieu left for Lyons. Until that date he seems to have divided his time between Tulle and Bordeaux. The letter of which we have spoken above, was perhaps entrusted to him on his departure for Lyons, his future home.

HELEN J. HARVITT

NEW YORK

(*To be continued*)

³⁶ The seneschal of the Limousin, Montchenu, made his entry into that city on Sept. 21, 1534. This fixes another date for Beaulieu's sojourn in Tulle. Cf. the *Régistres consulaires de Limoges*, vol. II, p. 216.

REVIEWS

Prolegomena und erster Teil einer kritischen Ausgabe der *Chançon de Guillelme*, von FRANTZ RECHNITZ. Bonn, Emil Eisele, 1909. Pp. viii, 105.

La Chançon de Guillelme, Französisches Volksepos des XI. Jahrhunderts, kritisch herausgegeben von H. SUCHIER. Halle, Niemeyer, 1911. Pp. lxxvi, 195.

La thèse de M. Rechnitz offre une restauration des vv. 1-1001 du *Guillaume* et de plusieurs passages isolés, avec une discussion intéressante (voir l'*Introduction* et les *Appendices*). Le travail est décidément au-dessus de celui des thèses allemandes ordinaires. On y sent une intelligence forte et originale, qu'inspire un véritable enthousiasme.

Deux principes surtout ont guidé M. R. dans les émendations qu'il propose : celui des *epische Phrasen* (répétition épique), et celui des passages parallèles, deux principes qui en vérité n'en font qu'un seul. Il me paraît porter trop loin ces procédés dans plusieurs cas. Ne veut-il pas, par exemple, remplacer le : *Sire, fait ele* du v. 2343, par *Sire, dist ele* (p. IV) ?

Je mentionne plusieurs points pris au fur et à mesure.

La critique adressée à la restauration par M. Bédier des vv. 2379, 2380, n'est peut-être pas entièrement justifiée. La restauration de M. R., bien qu'elle ait le mérite de conserver le mot *quatre*, manque un peu de tournure, de naturel (p. IV). M. Bédier est de l'avis que le *Willame* comme nous l'avons ne renferme qu'un seul poème ; à ceci, M. R. oppose des arguments qui me paraissent pour la plupart bons (pp. IV, V). L'auteur est de l'avis de M. Bédier que notre chançon connaissait un *Moniage Guillaume*, opinion à laquelle je ne saurais souscrire avec la même certitude que ces messieurs (p. V). L'auteur a l'air de croire que c'est lui qui ajoute l'histoire de l'épée Joieuse aux données cycliques que connaissait la *Chançon de Guillaume* ; ou se peut-il que je comprenne mal son expression : "wie ich hinzufüge" ? M. Bédier a compris toute la portée de la mention de Joieuse, comme on le verra en lisant la p. 323 du tome I de son ouvrage . . . M. R. parle de l'heureuse explication des vv. 1252-73 qu'offre M. Bédier. Il aurait dû ajouter celle des vv. 1329-31, à la p. 322 (p. V) . . . M. R. est de l'avis que notre poème est la plus logique de toutes les chansons de geste populaires, et tâche de montrer que M. Bédier et moi, nous nous sommes trompés en disant le contraire. Il se base en bonne partie sur les conclusions de son article concernant le refrain du *Guillaume*, où il dit avoir indiqué le jour et même l'heure des principaux événements de cette chanson. C'est à rêver debout, et l'on se demande quelle conception étonnante de la formation et de la transmission de poèmes populaires a pu présider à une telle tentative ! Certes, plus d'un professeur d'ancien français a eu à réprimer le zèle d'un étudiant qui voulait se lancer sur cette piste facile mais dangereuse . . . Ensuite, M. R. nous critique pour avoir vu une disparate dans l'absence (et plus tard dans la présence) de Guiot, mais son argument me semble faible, comme aussi son argument au sujet de la présence des chevaliers dans la salle où Guillaume mange et parle avec Guiot. La partie la plus forte, cependant, de son argument se trouve dans la

dernière phrase: "Fand es aber," etc. Pour moi, cette scène dérive de celle de Girard, qui commence au v. 1041, et se voit, sous une forme plus récente, au v. 2386 ss. (p. VI).¹

La reconstruction des premiers 1000 vv. proposée par l'auteur est bien faite, quoique l'on puisse critiquer plusieurs de ses émendations: par exemple, celle où il remplace le mot *messagers* au v. 23 du ms. par *mes*, en disant que le poème ne connaît pas le mot *messenger*. En général, l'auteur s'est conduit avec plus de réserve vis à vis de son modèle, chose qui mérite notre gratitude. Je mentionne plusieurs points dans la reconstruction de M. R., en regrettant que le temps m'ait manqué de la lire en entier. Au v. 7, la leçon proposée par M. P. Meyer me paraît préférable (M. R. cite cette leçon au bas de la page, mais il ne fallait pas y mettre de virgule). En discutant le v. 55, l'auteur parle du nom *cort nes* appliqué à Guillaume, et il cite à la page 7 des vv. d'*Aliscans*.² Ces vers sont tirés probablement de plusieurs mss. Si cela est, il aurait dû les mettre en bon état, au lieu de s'en rapporter à l'édition de Halle. On ne saurait guère souscrire non plus à ce qu'il dit à cette page: que les vv. 1643 ss. d'*Aliscans* prennent leur mention de *boce* du *Renoart*, celle de *Rome* du *Couronnement*, et le nom d'Ysoré du *Moniage Guillaume*. C'est parler trop catégoriquement.—La note 1, à la p. 12, qui commente les vv. 117-19, est certainement erronée. Le sujet de *out*, au v. 117, ne saurait guère indiquer celui qui vient de parler, et l'ascription de honte à Vivien sous les conditions données est d'une complexité psychologique qui peut bien être allemande, mais qui n'est point française, surtout à l'époque de notre chanson. L'auteur dit, à la page 30, note 3, après avoir changé l'*Alderufe* du ms. en *Alderofo*, que l'*Alderofo* du v. 376 est un homonyme de l'*Alderufe* qui paraît plus tard, dans le *Renoart*, v. 2095 ss. C'est bientôt dit, mais ce n'est pas de la critique. La reconstruction des vv. 503-11 laisse à désirer.³ A mon avis, Vivien veut dire: "Si un Français, au royaume de Louis, vous avait blessés ainsi, vos fils n'accepteraient jamais de trêve de lui. Aucun château-fort ne pourrait le protéger." Il n'a pas besoin de compléter sa pensée, qui serait, celle-ci: "Traitera-t-on mieux des Sarrazins qui nous massacrent dans une *estrange contree* que des Chrétiens qui nous feraient du mal en France? Vengeons-nous!", Si c'est là l'idée, le texte de M. R. ne la rend pas. Il a été influencé peut-être par le mot *nes* du v. 511: on pourrait écrire *nel*, bien que le pluriel se comprenne dans une telle phrase. Pour ce qui est du mot *si* du v. 506, je le comprends au sens assez fréquent d'un *et* un peu vague, et non pas au sens conditionnel. On peut faire objection à la ponctuation des vv. 570-78. Disons simplement en passant que la leçon proposée pour le v. 571 altère notablement l'idée assez claire du ms. M. R. rejette, comme c'était à prévoir, ma correction

¹ Mes opinions au sujet de Guiot se liront dans la *Romania*, XXXVIII, pp. 4, 5; *Modern Philology*, II, pp. 231, 232; III, pp. 213-16.

² M. R. écrit *corp nes*. Il vaudrait mieux écrire *corb nes*, pour des raisons de phonétique que je ne m'arrête pas ici pour expliquer.

³ En parlant de ce passage d'*Aliscans*, M. R. constate que le ms. *m* appelle l'adversaire de Guillaume Corsaut, au lieu d'Ysoré, comme font le *Couronnement* et le *Charroi*. J'ajoute que *Foucon de Candie* (813 ss., 973-75) fait tuer Corsolt de Naples par Guillaume. Il faut croire que le nom de Corsolt est ici une rencontre fortuite, ou qu'Herbert le Duc savait vaguement que Guillaume était censé avoir donné la mort à un nommé Corsolt.

de: *Que par la lune en qu'a Barcelune*, au v. 633. S'il s'agissait d'un poème allemand, M. R. aurait certainement raison. La lune brille toujours en Allemagne, nous n'avons pas besoin d'un H. Heine pour nous le dire. Une mention de la lune au v. 633 surprendrait tout homme rempli de l'esprit des chansons de geste, tandis que la mention du terme de voyage cadre parfaitement avec le style épique français. Pour défendre son mot *lune*, l'auteur se prévaut, comme M. Suchier avant lui,⁴ du fait que, dans la *Chevalerie Vivien* le messager part la nuit. Mais soyons conséquents! M. R. va nous dire, à la p. 86, dans des mots qu'il souligne, que, pour déterminer l'emplacement primitif de l'Archamp, on ne doit consulter que la *Chanson de Guillaume* (les 1979 premiers vers de notre poème). Donc, selon l'auteur, quand il s'agit de déterminer la géographie ancienne, on ne peut consulter que le *Guillaume*; mais quand il s'agit de déterminer le temps du départ du messager, il est permis de consulter la *Chevalerie*. C'est, à mon avis, une pure cheville. Mais regardons le témoignage de la *Chevalerie* bien en face: quels sont les faits? Cette chanson introduit un château, qui n'existait pas dans son modèle. Le héros, avec peu d'hommes, est assiégé dans ce château, par une nombreuse armée. Il désire envoyer un messager pour avoir du secours. Il ne peut faire autrement que l'envoyer la nuit, cent passages sont là pour le démontrer. Voilà donc l'origine de l'expédition nocturne de la *Chevalerie*. Or, si nous nous rapportons au *Guillaume*, il faut beaucoup de bonne volonté (et peut-être une théorie à défendre) pour y voir la moindre trace d'un voyage de nuit. La description, au contraire, renferme plusieurs traits qui sont habituels dans les scènes de bataille le jour, tels que la foule des Sarrazins à cheval, la chaleur, etc.⁵ En corrigeant la leçon *Turlenlerei* du v. 655 en *Torleu le rei*, M. R. laisse entrevoir qu'il accepte l'identification proposée par M. Suchier, d'après laquelle il s'agirait d'un roi irlandais, Turlough, roi de Munster de 1064 à 1086!

Arrivé aux vv. 958-1001, M. R. traite le message de Girard d'une façon qui me paraît regrettable. Parce que le pauvre Girard, presque mourant de sa longue course, et, sans doute, de ses blessures, ne réussit pas à répéter le message tel qu'il l'a reçu l'auteur, suivant toujours son principe des passages parallèles, rétablit l'ordre des vv. d'après les vv. 634-87. Au v. 375, notre chanson parle d'une bataille *as prez de Girunde*, bataille que, au v. 635, elle appelle *del champ del Saraguce*, M. R. corrige ce dernier v. ainsi: *del champ desos Gironde*, et me cite à l'appui. En effet, *Gironde* a dû être la leçon originale. On pourrait mentionner la forme *Sarragonde* pour *Sarragoce*, dans le *Roland* du Trinity College, au v. 2645. Remarquons que le fait d'une telle altération appuierait ce que j'ai avancé ailleurs:⁶ l'oubli de la ville de Gironde dans le milieu où l'on chantait et copiait notre poème et sa confusion avec le nom du fleuve. Je cite même à la preuve les mots: *prez de Girunde* et *champ del Saraguce* du texte, qui ont l'air de s'appliquer plutôt à une rivière qu'à une ville. L'importance de ce raisonnement pour l'interprétation des vv. 14 et 40 est grande: je crois qu'ici *Girunde*

⁴ *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, XXXIII, p. 56.

⁵ Dans son article sur le refrain dans la *Chanson de Willame*, *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, XXXII, p. 188, l'auteur se justifie, en disant que l'armée chrétienne ne met qu'une nuit pour se rendre de Barcelone à l'Archamp. On se trompe en se basant sur un pareil passage, qui n'est qu'un lieu commun. Le poème ne parlerait pas autrement d'un voyage de Barcelone à Tours.

⁶ *Romania*, XXXIV, p. 242, note.

voulait dire à l'origine la ville et non le fleuve. Dans le premier *Appendice*, p. 77, l'auteur discute la question géographique du poème, et, comme ses opinions ne s'accordent que rarement avec les miennes, il a souvent à me critiquer, mais il le fait, généralement, d'une façon superficielle. Par exemple, à la p. 80, il dit que je sais que Guillaume est parti d'Orange (il s'agit du *Renoart*) deux jours seulement avant son retour dans cette ville, et que, cependant, je veux qu'il soit allé de là à Barcelone, puis à Tortose, et puis qu'il soit revenu à Orange, le tout en deux jours. Disons d'abord qu'on ne peut pas souvent mesurer ces espaces et ces laps de temps "épiques," comme le fait M. R., la règle et la montre à la main. Il commet une erreur fondamentale, erreur que j'ai commise moi-même autrefois. Ensuite, s'il avait lu avec soin ce que j'ai avancé plus d'une fois, il aurait évité l'injustice de sa critique. Où ai-je dit que le héros avait accompli toutes ces choses en deux jours? Qu'il me soit permis de citer ici ce que j'ai dit il y a plus de huit ans, en parlant d'*Aliscans* et de ses sources:

"The remanieurs have omitted to send Guillaume to Spain with an army that he might be ready in case of attack, and they have preserved the time-record of the original. The messenger is thus represented as riding to Orange from Spain with as much ease and despatch as to Barcelona, and, in the same way the army of relief arrives at the scene of operations."⁷

Conduit trop loin (il me semble) par sa théorie des passages parallèles, et sans tenir compte de toutes les significations du mot *France*,⁸ M. R. croit que les vv. 15, 41 et 962 signifient la même chose, et que l'emplacement de la bataille est en France. Ces vers, selon lui, doivent n'en faire qu'un. Ce "vers," comme je l'ai déjà fait observer, est peut-être le plus corrompu de la chanson; il a embarrassé les copistes, il nous reste obscur. Sur les trois fois qu'il revient, le mot *France* manque deux fois. Mais, dira-t-il, il y avait le mot *France* du v. 962 contre le mot *terre* du v. 41, donc autorité égale. Je dis, cependant, que le mot *terre* est appuyé par d'autres vv.; 696, 964; qu'outre cela, un scribe a pu laisser tomber le mot *terre* du v. 15 plus facilement que le mot *France*. M. R. n'applique pas sa théorie avec entière exactitude. On ne peut donc accepter ce qu'il avance (à la p. 78) que les trois passages mentionnés disent tous que l'Archamp est en France.⁹ Il dit à la même page que, selon les données du poème, Bourges est très près du champ de bataille; c'est fort mal connaître les anciennes chansons que de tirer une telle conclusion. On doit s'étonner de la façon biscornue dont M. R. retourne les mots *en estrange cuntree* (vv. 681, 1001). Guiot, dit-il, est auprès de son oncle Guillaume, qui demeure à Barcelone; Vivien, qui est en France, mande son frère de venir à son secours *en estrange cuntree*, i. e., en France! La France, donc, pour ce neveu de Guillaume, pour ce jeune héros de la *fière geste*, est un *estrange cuntree*! Le doute me vient à l'esprit que l'auteur puisse vouloir dire une pareille chose. Dans la note

⁷ *The Origin of the Covenant Vivien*, University of Missouri Studies, I, No. 2, p. 51.

⁸ Voir, par exemple, A. Terracher: *Notes sur l'Archant*, p. 9, note (*Annales du Midi*, janvier, 1910).

⁹ Cf. l'avis de M. Willy Schulz: *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache*, XXXV, Heft 2 & 4 (*Referate*), pp. 67, 68. Selon lui, l'Archamp dans le *Guillaume* doit se trouver hors de France; il n'accepte pas, cependant, l'Espagne. M. Terracher, au contraire, l'accepte: voir l'article cité *passim*.

3 de cette page 78, l'auteur dit que la seule chose dans le *Guillaume* dont j'aie pu tirer des arguments favorisant l'Espagne comme emplacement de la bataille était la mention de Barcelone. Ceci prouve que M. R. a lu mon article d'une façon superficielle. Parmi plusieurs arguments qu'il passe sous silence, qu'il me soit permis de citer celui-ci, auquel personne n'a répondu, que je sache: "Il n'est que naturel, si le siège de Guillaume est à Barcelone, que la scène des exploits de son 'neveu' se trouve plus en avant dans le pays sarrasin."¹⁰ La discussion d'*Aliscans* (pp. 81, 82) n'ajoute rien à la thèse de M. R. En parlant de cette chanson, pourquoi n'a-t-il rien dit du fait qu'elle glose le v. 3500 du *Renoart*: *tote la tere Vivien le ber, par Tortelose et Portpaillart*?¹¹ N'est-ce pas inquiétant? La discussion du témoignage de *Foucon* au sujet de l'emplacement de la bataille, est également manquée. L'auteur cite, par exemple, sans aucun commentaire défavorable, l'opinion tellement absurde de M. Suchier que le fait que *Foucon* se sert des deux noms *Archant* et *Aliscans* indique que ce poème place la bataille dans le voisinage d'Orenge (p. 82, note 2). A cette même page, il exprime l'avis que *Foucon* a tiré le récit de la fuite de Guillaume d'*Aliscans*, et il cite un de mes articles pour montrer que plusieurs vers de *Foucon* se trouvent aussi dans *Aliscans*. Il exagère cependant ce que j'ai avancé. Pour qui considère le grand nombre de points cités par moi où *Foucon* montre une connaissance de traditions plus anciennes que celles d'*Aliscans*, il sera oisif d'aller chercher dans cette chanson l'origine de la fuite de Guillaume.¹² M. R. dit (pp. 83, 84) que *Foucon* suit la vieille tradition dans deux points: Guillaume marche de Barcelone au secours de son neveu; et *Foucon* connaît Tedbald de Berry.¹³ Le fait que, dans *Foucon*, Guillaume marche de Barcelone à Tortose ne tire pas à conséquence, dit M. R., car, dans le *Guillaume* il part aussi de Barcelone, mais Vivien est en France. Voilà un raisonnement délicieux! Après avoir corrigé un passage corrompu, en violant les principes qu'il s'était posés, il se base sur cette émendation pour trancher toute la question de l'emplacement de la bataille. En discutant *Foucon de Candie*, M. R. aurait fait preuve de plus de franchise en mentionnant le passage cité par moi de cette chanson où l'on nous dit, en parlant justement de notre bataille, que Tibaut est venu avec son armée à Barcelone.¹⁴ Pourquoi ne dresse-t-il pas pour l'action de *Foucon* la carte que voici, qui en vaut plusieurs autres que je pourrais nommer?: "Tibaut désire attaquer Vivien, qui est en France, et marche contre Barcelone, qui est en Espagne. Guillaume est dans cette ville. Vivien mande Guillaume à Barcelone. Lui et

¹⁰ Voir *Romania*, XXXIV, p. 255.

¹¹ Voir *Romania*, XXXIV, pp. 255-55.

¹² Voir *Romania*, XXXVIII, pp. 8-10, et 31, note 4; aussi *Modern Philology*, III, p. 237, note 2.

¹³ On dirait que M. R. pense que M. Bédier a été le premier à citer les vv. tellement importants du ms. 25518 de la Bibliothèque Nationale, vv. qui mentionnent Tedbald de Berry. J'ai publié ces vv. dès 1905.

¹⁴ Voir *Romania*, XXXIV, p. 237, note 2:

Car Vivien nous i est mort lessiez.

A Bartelouse vint Tiebaus eslessiez, etc.

Ces vers se trouvent et dans le ms. 778 de la Bib. Nat. et dans celui de Londres, fait qui ne ressort pas de la nouvelle édition de M. O. Schultz-Gora, variantes du v. 501.

Tibaut s'en vont dans les environs de Bourges peut-être, où, comme on sait, il y a assez de pays pour livrer une belle bataille, ou du côté de la marche bretonne dans le département actuel de la Mayenne, pays encore plus propre à l'attaque. C'est là qu'a lieu la lutte suprême où périt Vivien, où Guillaume fut défait: *Molt fu bele la bataille.*" Ou, pourquoi ne pas dire tout simplement que Barcelone et Tortelose sont censées être en France? . . . Que dira M. R. des vv. 2126-37 de *Foucon*? Dans ce passage, Guichart lamente la défaite où il a perdu son frère, où lui-même a été pris, où Guillaume a eu à prendre la fuite. Il continue:

A Barcelone, quant g'i fui anvoiez,
Mout fui petiz de paiens resoigniez;
Mes s'or estoie a mon brant acointiez,
Dont resteroit li Archanz chalongiez
Et li domaches dont encor sui iriez.¹⁵

Pourquoi fermer les yeux sur le témoignage, cependant assez clair, de *Foucon*? . . . A la p. 84, M. R. dit que l'auteur de *Foucon* ne peut pas avoir mis à contribution de plus vieilles traditions que celles du *Guillaume*. Il suffit de renvoyer aux critiques fort saines que M. W. Schulz (l. c., p. 62) et M. A. Terracher (l. c., p. 5, note 3) lui ont adressées à cet égard. . . . A la note 1 de cette page, M. R. exprime l'opinion que le récit de la conquête de la Catalogne par Vivien, tel qu'il se trouve dans les *Nerbonesi*, ne peut pas se baser sur de vieilles traditions épiques. Il reconnaît, cependant, j'espère, que le remanieur du bon ms. 1448 de la *Chevalerie Vivien*, de même que le remanieur du ms. de Boulogne de ce poème, ont dû connaître des traditions d'une telle conquête.¹⁶ Il peut répondre, bien entendu, que le témoignage de ces mss. n'est pas suffisamment ancien. La partie de la discussion de M. R. qui traite la *Chevalerie Vivien* est presque aussi faible que celle qui traite *Foucon*. Pour se défaire du v. 62 de cette chanson, qui dit que Vivien et ses hommes entrent en *Espaigne la grant*, il cite M. Suchier. Ce savant a dit¹⁷ que le remanieur de la *Chevalerie* a simplifié plusieurs scènes du commencement du *Guillaume*, et en a introduit d'autres, telle que celle de la mutilation des Sarrasins.¹⁸ M. R. en tire la conclusion que la mention de l'invasion de l'*Espaigne* est à supprimer, comme une addition relativement récente. Remarquons ici deux choses: M. Suchier, dans le passage cité, ne parle pas de cette façon du v. 62. Il sait que, même si le v. est relativement récent, il a pu

¹⁵ C'est la leçon du ms. 25518. J'ai cité la leçon du ms. de Londres dans la *Romania*, XXXIV, p. 238.

¹⁶ Voir *Romania*, XXXIV, pp. 256, 257; *Modern Philology*, III, p. 225, note 2; *Chevalerie Vivien, facsimile edition of the MS. of Boulogne, University of Missouri Studies*, 1909, Introduction.

¹⁷ *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXXIX, pp. 679, 689. Disons en passant que la mention par M. S. de Garin au v. 380 de la *Chevalerie* (selon l'édition Jonckbloet) est malheureuse, car cette leçon est décréditée depuis longtemps. Encore une chose: la mention d'Aïmer, à mon avis, ne soutient pas la comparaison avec celle faite par M. Bédier: *Légendes Épiques*, I, pp. 328, note, et 320, note 2.

¹⁸ M. J. Runeberg, dans son excellent livre: *Etudes sur la Geste Rainouart*, pp. 146, 147, avait déjà (1905) exprimé l'opinion que l'épisode des Sarrasins mutilés venait peut-être d'une autre source.

être l'ouvrage d'un remanieur très au courant de la vieille légende. Autre chose : M. R. omet un fait que mentionne M. Suchier : le vieux château de la *Chevalerie* serait aussi une addition due au remanieur. Pourquoi M. R. ne mentionne-t-il pas ce que dit M. S. de ce château ? Est-ce parce qu'il s'est déjà servi de l'épisode du château pour appuyer le mot *lune* du v. 633 du *Guillaume*? c'est de ce château justement que part, la nuit, le messager dans la *Chevalerie*. Il y a donc à prendre et à laisser dans cette introduction, relativement récente, de la chanson ? M. R. est de l'avis évidemment que la mention de Barcelone dans le *Guillaume* n'est pour rien dans l'expédition en *Espagne* de la *Chevalerie*. Il croit que le remanieur¹⁹ de cette chanson a été amené à introduire l'invasion d'Espagne parce qu'il voulait rattacher son poème aux événements des *Enfances Vivien*, qui, comme M. Suchier lui-même l'admet (l. c., p. 679) se déroulent à Luiserne, en Espagne.²⁰ Cette admission de la part de M. R. est déjà grave, car le remanieur qu'il suppose, savait, sans contredit, que Luiserne était au sud des Pyrénées. Il s'ensuit que le remanieur voulait dire par *Espagne* le pays au sud des Pyrénées. On peut donc retourner contre M. R. l'arme qu'il a prise. M. R. paraît (à la page 86) attacher plus d'importance au fait que le *Roland* d'Oxford, au v. 856, place la *terre Certaine* en Espagne (fait que M. Foerster lui a signalé) qu'à toutes les preuves que j'ai avancées. S'il trouvait que j'avais moi-même mentionné ce vers quelque part, qu'en dirait-il ?

L'espace me manque pour traiter les deux derniers *Appendices* de l'ouvrage de M. R. Il s'agit toujours de tentatives de reconstruction de morceaux. Après un examen rapide, je suis de l'avis qu'il se trompe dans ce qu'il tâche d'établir, bien qu'il montre beaucoup d'habileté dans ce genre de travail. En somme, quoique je me sois trouvé souvent en désaccord avec M. R., je tiens à exprimer le grand plaisir que la lecture de son livre m'a apporté ; c'est un ouvrage qui fait prévoir d'autres bonnes études.

Le volume de M. Suchier se compose d'une préface, d'une longue introduction, d'un texte critique de la *Chanson de Guillaume* (la partie supposée la plus ancienne), et du texte, exact autant que possible, du ms. Le livre est pourvu d'un glossaire et d'une table des noms propres. Le texte diplomatique a été collationné par M. J.-A. Herbert. M. Suchier a eu l'heureuse idée de faire imprimer en lettres italiques les mots que le premier éditeur, M. George Dunn, avait altérés ou mal lus.

A la p. VIII de la préface, M. S. répète sa conviction que ses théories sur l'origine et sur la signification du poème sont bien fondées. Il reproche à M. P. Meyer de s'être retranché derrière M. F. Lot et moi, et laisse entendre que M. Meyer a changé d'avis depuis la publication de son article sur le *Guillaume*. Je crois savoir que M. S. se trompe, et qu'encore M. Meyer changerait-il son avis il n'embrasserait pas celui de M. S. sur l'origine et la signification de la chanson. Je profite de cette occasion pour faire une remarque personnelle. Il s'agit d'une rectification à faire à la note 4 de la p. IV de l'introduction. M. S. y revendique l'honneur d'avoir été le premier à scinder en deux (à partir du v. 1983 de son texte critique) le ms. publié par la Chiswick Press sous le titre de *Chancun de*

¹⁹ Là où il s'agit de remaniement aussi ancien, ne vaudrait-il pas mieux dire : *les remanieurs* ?

²⁰ Ceci serait l'occasion de demander à MM. S. et R. d'où les *Enfances* auraient emprunté l'idée de l'Espagne comme théâtre des exploits du jeune héros.

Willame. C'est moi cependant qui le premier avais indiqué cette division. M. S., en apprenant son erreur, m'en a écrit, dès 1911, une lettre fort polie, dont je le remercie loyalement.

Ce que dit le savant critique du ms, aux pp. III-V renferme naturellement moins de détails que l'article postérieur qu'a fait paraître M. J. Acher dans la *Revue des langues romanes*.²¹

Mentionnons plusieurs autres choses dans l'introduction. M. S., lui, croit non seulement à l'ancienneté de la chanson, mais à sa haute importance, et je suis pleinement de son avis. Il place la rédaction de la chanson vers 1080 (voir à la p. XXIX) . . . Aux pp. XXXVIII et XXXIX, M. S. répète ce que d'autres avaient dit avant lui, que les vv. 669-78 renvoient au *Siège d'Oreng* perdu, mais une bonne part de ce qu'il avance me paraît mal fondée: voir la première et la troisième phrases commençant sur la p. XXXIX . . . Il aurait pu ajouter, à la même page, au vers de *Foucon* cité un vers de ce poème qui se trouve dans le ms. de Stockholm: Tibaut y dit de Vivien: *Veiant mes oïls li fis lo chief colper* (fol. 77 v°). Et il y a d'autres vers de ce poème qui seraient à citer ici. A partir de la p. XLI, M. S. commence à traiter les questions géographiques, le décor historique et l'influence cyclique de la chanson. C'est la partie la plus faible du livre, quoiqu'il y ait bien des aperçus justes . . . Il croit (p. XLIII) avoir trouvé le sens de la mystérieuse *Terre Certaine*. Il abandonne une étymologie qu'il avait proposée comme possible (*Terra Carnutena*), et se base sur un passage du *Roman de Waldef*, où *terre certaine* veut dire *terra firma*. Qui pourrait en douter? Mais tirer de cela que ces mots ont la même signification dans la *Chanson de Guillaume*, où leur emploi est nettement celui d'un nom propre, voilà qui est inadmissible. Qu'on relise les passages. On ferait mieux, à mon avis, de voir dans *Terre Certaine* quelque nom propre espagnol estropié. L'étrange serait que de tels noms, venant d'abord par la voie populaire, conservassent leur forme correcte. Toute la discussion de l'emplacement de l'Archamp et celle des événements historiques, sont, je regrette de le dire, manquées. C'est attristant de voir M. S. persévérer dans un chemin tellement absurde que personne ne l'y suivra, si ce n'est un de ses élèves, et encore! . . . A la p. XLVI, M. S. veut tirer un détail topographique du mot *destre* dans le v.: *En l'Archamp vindrent desur la mer a destre*. On a, dit-il, l'Archamp à la main droite lorsqu' on va de Bourges vers la côte. Le mot *destre* ici est

²¹ Vol. LV, 1912, pp. 60-76, cf. vol. LVI, p. 125 ss., pour l'acquisition du ms. par le Musée Britannique, p. 513. J'ajoute un fait qui a échappé aux revues scientifiques: la bibliothèque de l'Université Harvard a acquis pour \$18,750 la très riche collection que possédait M. Dunn de mss. et de livres traitant du vieux droit anglais. M. Acher, critique d'ordinaire plus avisé, s'est laissé aller, dans un article publié dans la *Revue des langues romanes*, LIV, p. 333 ss., à appuyer MM. Becker et Tron dans leur opinion de notre chanson. Le premier avait besoin de réduire autant que possible l'importance de la *Chanson de Guillaume*: on n'a qu'à lire de lui la p. 48 de son *Altfranzösische Wilhelmsage* pour comprendre la situation dans laquelle il se trouvait dès la publication du livre de Chiswick; le second s'est laissé emporter par son manque de connaissance du sujet. Pour ce qui en est de l'existence du ms. du *Guillaume*, j'ai dit dans mon compte rendu du livre de M. Tron (*Romanic Review*, I, p. 453, note 2) qu'un de mes amis avait eu entre ses mains ce précieux ms.

plutôt un simple lieu commun, comme le mot *gauche* dans le v. 38 de l'*Aymerillot* de Hugo: *Sur la gauche est la mer aux grandes ondes bleues* . . . A la p. XLVIII ss., M. S. offre une explication du mot *alues* des vv. 17, 43 et 966 de la chanson. Il propose de tirer ce mot d'*allodium*, et croit qu'il signifie forêt. Il cite bien des exemples d'*allodium* et d'*alleux* dans le pays de la marche bretonne. Mais M. Acher (*Revue des langues romanes*, LIV, pp. 341, 342) cite le mot venant de bien d'autres parties de la France. Pour moi, je suis loin d'être convaincu que *alues* veuille dire forêt dans les passages du *Guillaume* dont il s'agit. Il me semble pouvoir signifier plantation, et je ne l'imprimerais pas comme un nom propre. Si le mot veut dire forêt, je n'accepterais pas la correction que propose M. S. de *prent en esprent* ou de *prendre en esprendre* . . . M. S. dit à la p. LVIII que *Foucon* mentionne vaguement que Barcelone avait été autrefois aux Sarrasins, et que ce poème ne dit pas que ce fut Guillaume qui la leur prit. Il cite le v. 4056 de l'édition de M. Schultz-Gora et la p. 83 de celle de Tarbé (pourquoi cette édition, lorsque j'ai donné le passage, dans la *Romania*, XXXIV, pp. 237, 238, sous une forme un peu plus correcte?). Il aurait dû ajouter les vv. 5253, 5354 de l'édition Schultz-Gora. L'action de *Foucon* est basée sur le fait que Guillaume a pris à Tibaut et aux Sarrasins Barcelone, Portpailart et Orenge. Tibaut tâche de rentrer dans ses terres. Il est vrai que le poème laisse entendre un peu vaguement, si l'on veut, que le héros chrétien a conquis Barcelone avant de conquérir Orenge. La portée de cette donnée est grande. Le dernier paragraphe est à comparer avec l'excellent article de M. H.-A. Smith dans cette *Revue*, IV, p. 84 ss. et surtout p. 149 ss.

La partie la plus solide, la plus belle, du livre de M. S. c'est, le rétablissement du texte. Cela est vrai, malgré le fait que les savants préféreront toujours une édition rigoureusement diplomatique de cette chanson.²² Il sera utile cependant de pouvoir mettre entre les mains des étudiants l'édition critique. Le temps m'a manqué de lire en entier la restauration de M. S., mais j'y ai remarqué la maîtrise que nous connaissons chez ce critique. S'il pêche quelquefois, c'est plutôt par tempérament, paraît-il, que par autre chose. La lune du v. 636, par exemple, brille chez lui avec la même lumière et par les mêmes causes que chez M. Rechnitz. Le v. 1073: *Puis salt del lit cume Frans naturels* témoigne de la rage des compatriotes de M. S. de voir partout des Francs. Encore un indice, bien petit mais qui a sa valeur: le mot *ces* au lieu du *ses* du ms. au v. 651 a quelque chose du mauvais pathétique des ballades anglaises, écossaises et allemandes.—La restauration proposée pour le v. 676 est impossible. Celle de M. Rechnitz est supérieure, quoique pas parfaite encore.—Le v. 1525 (voir note) n'a rien à faire avec le v. 7 de *Foucon*, car, dans ce dernier passage, le héros revenait de la bataille.—La restauration du v. 1706 me paraît impossible.

Arrivé à la Table des Noms Propres, M. S. avait naturellement à définir plusieurs des noms d'après ses théories à lui. C'est un défaut, bien entendu, mais léger. La critique, par exemple, acceptera-t-elle jamais ce qui se lit sous les noms *Marches*, *Limenes*, *Riu*, *Terre Certaine*?

R. W.

²² M. Mario Roques, compte faire publier une éd. dans ses *Classiques Français du Moyen Age*.

Vie de Charles d'Orléans (1394-1465). Par PIERRE CHAMPION, Archiviste-paléographe. Paris, Librairie Spéciale pour l'Histoire de France, Honoré Champion, 1911.

François Villon, Sa Vie et Son Temps. Par PIERRE CHAMPION. Paris, Librairie Spéciale pour l'Histoire de France, Honoré Champion, 1913.

Mr Pierre Champion is already well known to students of the fifteenth century for briefer studies on matters relating to the poet-duke, Charles d'Orléans;¹ in these two more ambitious works, published within a remarkably short time of one another, he establishes himself as an authority on the social history of that period. For it is biography and history with which Mr Champion concerns himself chiefly in these lives of the two greatest French poets of the fifteenth century, as may be gathered from the titles of the works themselves and from their classification by the publisher. Indeed the enquirer in the field of literature experiences a measure of disappointment, perhaps unreasonable, at the comparatively small place given to literary *aperçus* in the *Life of Villon*, their almost total absence from that of Charles d'Orléans; but he is recompensed by the complete panorama of life in the fifteenth century presented from two very different points of view.

Nothing could be farther apart than the life, on the one hand, of the royal duke, involved in all the great political crises of his nation, even though—a prisoner in England—he missed active share in the great episode of Joan of Arc, and, on the other, the life of the poor scholar, intimately associated with the learned and official, yet more intimately with the discredited and vagabond, classes. Their author has made each biography a vehicle for an exhaustive description of the customs, conditions and manners of their respective circles in the widest sense of the word and has brought to the task scholarly competence, exactitude and industry. The merest detail is based upon authentic sources, the widest generality has its proper relation to facts brought within the readers' ken. The one or two places where internal evidence seems strained to bear the conclusion are negligible in view of the six hundred and fifty-eight pages of the one work and the seven hundred and sixteen of the other.

The biography of Villon is confessedly barren of documentary evidence bearing upon the actual life, as may be seen by the sparse collection of *Pièces justificatives* appended to it. Here Mr Champion's exact erudition finds its scope in the light he throws upon the setting of the poet's life. The title of his book partly at least justifies him, although some such title as *The Times of François Villon* might have been more exact. The aim of the biographer is frankly "de faire connaître les différents milieux qu'il a traversés, la société où il a trouvé ses protecteurs et ses victimes, Paris qu'il a beaucoup aimé." Starting from Marot's remark that to understand the *Lais*: "il faudroit avoir esté de son temps à Paris," Mr Champion shows us the Paris of the time with a particularity which justifies his assertion that we know more about Villon and his time than did Marot who edited the poet's work at a distance from him of barely two generations. Everything is, however, connected with some word of Villon's or with the sparse data directly relating to him.

The *Vie de Charles d'Orléans*, on the other hand, is what it professes to be,

¹ *Le manuscrit autographe des poésies de Charles d'Orléans (1907)*; *Charles d'Orléans joueur d'échecs (1908)*; *La Librairie de Charles d'Orléans (1909)*.

a biography, and a biography based upon documents for the most part unpublished. The author has made ample use of the scattered collection of documents of the Baron de Joursanvault, whether available through the labors of the Comte de Laborde² or consulted in the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale, or the Bibliothèque de Blois; he has searched through other collections in the Bibliothèque Nationale and in the Archives Nationales, as well as in departmental and communal archives; has well employed his knowledge of the manuscripts and editions (the first edition no earlier than 1803) of his author and of that author's contemporaries; and has not neglected the frequent consultation of modern authorities, even in minor points. The documents available for the latter part of the Life are abundant, for its beginnings they are sufficient to enable the author to sketch a series of typical pictures.

Charles d'Orléans, the father of Louis XII, was a man of affairs before he was a man of letters, and his life is full of incident, which his biographer employs to shed light upon his poetry and to establish its chronology. Born in 1394, the son of that famous victim of infamous murder, Louis d'Orléans, and of Valentine of Milan, his parentage enormously influenced his life, for his youth was spent in seeking vengeance for his father's death, and not a few of the years of his later life in attempting to recover his mother's heritage. Before he was taken, at the age of twenty, as a prisoner to England, he beheld the atrocities of his own adherents the Armagnacs matched by those of the Cabochiens of the opposing faction; he saw final peace proclaimed, his party placed in power, and proper "vengeance" done for his father in the form of solemn funeral rites in open condemnation of the murderer, Jean sans Peur. After the great defeat at Agincourt he went to the English imprisonment, which lasted twenty-five years, in the course of which Joan of Arc rescued Orléans, his capital city. After his return, largely brought about by the exertions of Philip the Good, son of his father's murderer, and those of his half-English duchess, Charles carried out the ostensible purpose of his release and arranged a truce with England, becoming thenceforward a sort of official peace-maker. He succeeded in reconciling Charles de Bourbon and Philip, with whom he had made a compact to work "à l'apaisement dudit royaume de France"; he less successfully negotiated between the King and his vassals, especially Philip of Burgundy, and even attempted to make peace between Charles VII and the dauphin—a thankless task as it proved. In 1448 he made an expedition to Italy in a vain attempt to recover Asti from Francesco Sforza, but failing to secure support he retired to Blois, there to spend his last years in peace.

The three marriages of Charles d'Orléans extended his close connections with the political powers of France. His first wife was his cousin Isabelle of France, daughter of Charles VI, and widow of the ill-fated Richard II of England; his second, Bonne, the daughter of that duke who gave his name to the terrible Armagnacs; his third, Marie of Cleves, married late in life, the niece, almost the adopted daughter, of Philip of Burgundy.

Mr Champion does full justice to various striking details of Charles d'Orléans' career. The reader will not forget the picture of the young duke,—at fifteen a father and a widower—cruelly bereft of both his parents, burdened

² Who re-collected and printed many of the documents in his *Les Ducs de Bourgogne, études sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendant le XV^e siècle* (Part II, vol. III).

with the heavy duty of vengeance; nor the incident of those sleeves embroidered with the words of a song: "Madame, je suis plus joyeux," the music of which was noted with five hundred and sixty-eight pearls, ordered by Charles in the happy year when the Emperor acknowledged his right to Asti, the year in which he was reconciled with the King and Queen, and in which—so Mr Champion thinks—he enjoyed the company of the young wife he loved, who died while he was in captivity; nor yet again will the reader forget the picture of his disenchanted age when, bereft of political importance, he retired to the semi-rustic frugal life of Blois. Here, clad in soberly old-fashioned black, mildly melancholy and hypochondriac, yet warm, tolerant, friendly, he held his little court, a "séjour d'honneur" where prince or poet was welcome, and where he distributed his "ordre du Camail," performed friendly offices for his dependents, corresponded with his friend Fradet, played cards and chess, dallied with the travelling mountebank, the travelling peddler. A lover of dogs and mounts, he was yet lukewarm in the chase and, within doors, found his pleasures in collecting jewels, boxes, arms and manuscripts (of which latter Mr Champion gives an admirable account); and above all in composing, writing and rewriting his graceful poems. And the end of his life was sweetened by the birth of children, after sixteen years of marriage, when he was himself well past sixty.

As against these clearly conveyed impressions, the account of the English captivity, full of exact details which would be wearisome but for the interest of getting them correctly established, results in being somewhat vague in outline. We hear much of the duke's various guardians, much of the messengers that passed to and fro between Charles and his family and subjects, but the chapter remains unsatisfying. Mr Champion brings out however that there was no "prison" in the sense in which Charles' subjects and countrymen pictured it,⁸ but that the captivity varied in rigor with the varying tides of the war with France, and became, after the death of Henry V, the more or less easy charge of individual noblemen.

The same vagueness—or lack of properly distributed emphasis—is noticeable in other passages. Thus, curiosity would demand some explanation of, or at least comment on, the reconciliation of Charles with Philip of Burgundy, son of his father's murderer, himself the victim of a murder which the Orléanais regarded as divine retribution; whereas the first steps towards that reconciliation⁴ are recorded without remark. More than one such hiatus disturbs the reader. A page,⁵ for instance, is given to a lively account of Richemont of Brittany, "ce brutal et honnête homme de guerre, tout renfrogné et lippu," who obtained the life of Jean d'Alençon because "il fallait amadouer ce brutal." References to the duke of Brittany occur thereafter at the interval of a few pages,⁶ and the reader discovers by accident,⁷ after several such,⁸ that another duke is in question, Charles' nephew François, himself an interesting figure.

⁸ As in the illuminated Royal Ms. Brit. Mus. 16 Fij, fol. 73 v°, reproduced *Vie de Charles d'Orléans*, p. 200.

⁴ On the occasion of the visit of the Burgundian ambassadors to England in 1433.

⁵ *Vie de Charles d'Orléans*, p. 550.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 564, 565, 570, 571.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 572.

⁸ Pp. 377 and 454.

The charm, if not the value, of the book is greatly enhanced by the romantic interest of many of the characters that cross its pages, chief of them naturally Joan of Arc, who knew that God loved the duke of Orléans and who had had more revelations about him than about any but the King. She declared that Charles was "de sa charge," she would die gladly to fetch him out of England, and great was her joy in trying to recover his territories. She visited his young daughter, wife of Jean d'Alençon, and reposed familiar confidence in his brother, "le Grand Bâtard." Mr Champion raises the question whether Charles in his English captivity would have approved the recovery of his possessions by force of arms. He preferred peaceful means, for "il savait bien que sa captivité n'était devenue rigoureuse que du jour où le roi Henry V avait repris la guerre contre France."⁹ Mr Champion remarks elsewhere that it is not given us to know what Charles d'Orléans thought of Joan of Arc.¹⁰

Among the contemporaries of Charles d'Orléans none emerges more clearly from Mr Champion's pages than his above-mentioned brother, the great Dunois (brought up by Valentine among her own children), who never ceased to play the part of faithful henchman, though he became himself the more redoubtable and influential figure of the two brothers. Others who have a particular interest are Jacques Lelaing, squire of dames and champion of the lists, whom Charles disliked,—"*toujours sur son chemin et qui courtoisait sa femme*";¹¹ the sinister Jean Sans Peur and his romantic and generous son Philip, Charles' benefactor, founder of the "Golden Fleece" and afire to recover Constantinople by a crusade; Isabella of Portugal, his duchess, "*doucement résolue*";¹² the pitiable Alençon,—whose condemnation for treason put him so outside the life of his class that Villon could refer to him as dead.¹³

In the account of the trial of the latter, Mr Champion reproduces an interesting picture of the event, containing the portrait of Charles d'Orléans, taken from the Munich *Boccaccio*,¹⁴ and he reprints in full the long plea of Charles d'Orléans on the occasion. Champollion Figeac had previously quoted it, but here careful collation of two manuscripts (Bib. Nat. mss. fr. 1104 and 5738) gives us a reliable text.

The book contains a good, if not critical, account of the poetry of the *Livre de la Prison*, as the poems written in England have been named, and the *Livre de Pensée* of the later years. Mr Champion discusses the ballades and chansons which recount the history of the poet's love for Beauté, those of his earlier youth, and those properly of the *Prison*. He notes the influence of musical convention upon his verse, although in Charles' day rondeaux and ballades were no longer accompanied, and remarks upon the use of the conventional vague expressions, amorous jargon and set situations in vogue, which make criticism so difficult. He dismisses Beaufile's theory that *Beauté* is France, with Héricault's that it merely symbolizes the love-life of the poet. He identifies *Beauté* in fact with Bonne d'Armagnac, the young wife from whom Charles

⁹ *Vie de Charles d'Orléans*, p. 192.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 443.

¹¹ Marie de Clèves.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 294.

¹³ *François Villon* vol. II, p. 190.

¹⁴ The Munich *Boccaccio*, Codex Gallicus, 369.

was separated, and, if his reasons here are but moderately convincing, those which prove that she was at least alive as late as 1430, and did not die, as commonly stated, in 1415, are entirely so, derived as they are from a careful scrutiny of archives.

Treating of the later poetry, the *Livre de Pensée* exclusive of the *Livre de la Prison*, composed after the poet's fiftieth year, Mr Champion points out the increasing preponderance of short pieces especially rondeaux and bergerettes whose success was marked enough to repute Blois the school of short poems. Concerned to vindicate Charles d'Orléans as an actual "homme de chair et os," to quote the poet's description of himself, Mr Champion points out that though he still expresses himself through allegorical figures, *Envie*, *Soucie*, and *Melancolie* for instance, the companions of his disenchantment and resignation, allegory gives way to reflections on life and death. Despite his personifications, Charles d'Orléans is after all a realist; the apartments he gives to *Pensée* for instance are in fact his own apartments; *Espoir* is a charlatan whom he might meet in the road, "beau bailleur de paroles"; his heart at work writing is himself:

"Après entrer je le voye,
En ung comptouer qu'il avoit
La deça et dela queroit
En cherchant plusieurs vieux cayers,"

and so on.

In his chosen task of giving his readers a sense of the personality of Charles d'Orléans, his biographer has had indubitable success, and justifies his remark: "On ne peut aujourd'hui pénétrer son œuvre sans entrer en sympathie avec ce vieil homme."

The book contains, besides the index, an itinerary with helpful documentary references.

Mr Champion owes his first interest in Charles d'Orléans, he tells us, to his researches at Blois on the subject of François Villon, researches inspired in the first place by the late Marcel Schwob. His *François Villon*, lacking formal dedication, is in fact a tribute to Schwob's memory. Mr Champion aided him in making his notes for a contemplated work on the poet, and after his death arranged, for private publication, the first two chapters of that unfinished work. He makes no less clear his debt to the scholarship of Gaston Paris and Auguste Longnon, the real discoverer of all that is known of the life of Villon, and also to the critical acumen of W. G. C. Byvanck.

Although Mr Champion's thorough researches shed little new light upon the facts of Villon's life, they do, as has been said, broadly illuminate its surroundings and clarify many of the obscure allusions of the poet. The fact that Guillaume de Villon, the protector, the "plus que père" of François de Montcorbier, was a member of the community of Saint Benoît, serves as *raison d'être* for a chapter descriptive and historical on that order, its church, its cemetery, chapel and other appurtenances, as a later one deals with its connections, its political attitude, its discussions with the Mendicant Orders and with the Canons of Notre Dame, adding an interesting identification of two of these.¹⁵ Again, the mother of the poet lived in the quarter of the Célestins, and we have a description of the Celestins' church, an account of the devotion to the Virgin, of the education

¹⁵ *François Villon*, Chaps. I and VI.

of young children in church cloisters, and of the state of Paris in 1435-1437, when the cruelties of Armagnacs and brigands and the hardships of English domination were intensified by snows and floods, tempest and famine, plague and wolves: "Tels sont les échos des événements de ce temps capables de toucher l'imagination d'un petit Parisien au temps de l'enfance de François Villon." We may read a catalogue and description of the feasts and fasts of the liturgical year (including the transcript of a Christmas carol of the time), or of the street signs which formed the subject of Villon's first (lost) poem, or an account of the education of children in that day, supported by the evidences of that education in Villon's works.¹⁶

As to the later education of Villon, the brief facts known concerning it—that he was received bachelor in March, 1449, and *licencié* on August 26th, 1452—are embellished by a description of the University, its curricula, equipment, life, activities and disturbances, especially that one which was probably the source of the poet's non-extant facetious work, the *Rommant du Pet au Deable*, failing which his biographer transcribes for us a contemporary work by another hand which must have resembled it. He notes the traces of his *quinquennium* left upon Villon's work in the shape of classic reminiscence, and discusses the question whether Villon was or was not a *gradué en forme* and a semi-ecclesiastic,¹⁷ his own view subtly supported by Villon's reference to the *maître des testaments* who dealt with wills of the ecclesiastics and also to J. de Calais, who was occupied with the wills of the laity.¹⁸

The life of the clerks and students themselves, with the games and songs, the taverns and women, which enlivened it, is described at length, making clear many of the allusions of Villon.¹⁹ There is a particularly interesting passage upon the identity of "La belle Heaulmiere,"²⁰ not however indisputably established. Others deal with that of "Marion l'Idole"²¹ and of "La Grosse Margot," whom Mr Champion inclines to regard as an authentic person, the occasion of a true and bitter confession in Villon's legacy to her.²² The nightly serenades, brawls and escapades of students and other roysterers form the subject-matter of another section,²³ exactly descriptive of the customs of the time and full of well-authenticated incidents and identifications bearing on the subject-matter of the *Lais* and the *Testament*. Perhaps the best example of M. Champion's method is the long chapter on the Paris of Villon's day,²⁴ recovered from the miseries of the first quarter of the century which had caused Parisians to go into exile, leaving (in 1423) twenty thousand deserted houses mortgaged beyond belief, and had been responsible for the death of fifty thousand souls in 1438. Now, grown rich and prosperous, it suffered from a revolution in moral values, the feudal system, with its honor and loyalties, lost forever, and, in its stead, a king who was an exacting taskmaster as well as a generous paymaster. Money—so ran the

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Chap. II.

¹⁷ Chaps. III and IV.

¹⁸ Vol. I, p. 43.

¹⁹ Chap. V.

²⁰ Vol. I, pp. 94-100.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 111-113.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 102, 105-109.

²³ Chap. V, sec. III.

²⁴ Chap. VIII.

complaints of the day—was the real King. The minute geographical description of the *rive gauche* of Villon's day elucidates many of Villon's allusions and gives point to his irony. Mention of the Tour de Nesle involves a discussion of the sources of the legend of Buridan current in Villon's time, when it was customary among the students, especially those of the College of Navarre, to drink an ironic toast: "Bibamus Regine Blanche vel Navarre qui fecit talia et talia,"—every drinker being at liberty to add to the legend. The description of Notre Dame includes that of the officialité with its *official* and *promoteur*, explaining the savage legacy to François de la Vacquery, *promoteur* in Villon's time; the account of the dark dungeons of the Châtelet brings out all the bitterness of the poet's bequest to them of his "miroir bel et idoine," as research on the subject of the wife of Jean Papin, one of its jailors, may elucidate the satiric force of his "grace de la geoliere," or the description of the Cimetière des Innocents enhance our sense of the melancholy power of Villon's meditations on the dead there. An imaginary walk through the rue Troussevache with its signs explains how the poet came to bequeath *le Mouton*, *le Bœuf couronné*, *la Vache* to the butcher Trouvé, and, thanks to Mr Champion's careful researches, the reader may make acquaintance with Trouvé himself. The author's copious references to original sources justify him, in fact, whenever he evokes imaginative pictures of his poet's life, just as the interest of the material he brings to the task disarms the critic who notes how far afield he sometimes goes for that material.

The second volume of the book deals more directly with the actual Life, and gives besides a connected account of the *Lais* and of the *Testament*, analyzing and commenting them.

For the Life M. Champion sticks close to Longnon, adding judicious discussion and illustrating as he proceeds many details of the conditions of existence of the time, as for instance of the vagabondage of the roads.²⁵ He discusses fully Rabelais' two tales of Villon:²⁶ the first, which would have Villon, high in Edward V's favour, deliver to the King a piece of patriotic braggadocio of a broad flavour, fails to stand the touch of historical criticism; the second, which relates an incident of practical revenge upon a Franciscan official, Tappecou, Mr Champion thinks may have some foundation of oral tradition.

The chapters on the *Lais* and on the *Testament* are perhaps the most interesting, as they are the most original, in the book. After acquainting himself with them, especially in connection with matters germane to them scattered throughout the work, the reader will peruse the poems with full understanding and new delight. But it is unfortunate that the connected analysis of these poems leads to a confused sense of repetition, since much that occurs elsewhere in the work here reappears. Mr Champion disarms criticism by making his own excuses,²⁷ but the fact remains that these chapters would gain enormously by a rearrangement which should include in them all the pertinent material which must be looked for in other pages. This defect of arrangement, however, does not detract from the merits of the new and extremely illuminating commentary which forms their subject-matter.

The chapter on the *Testament* includes some pages of judicious criticism which one could wish longer. The author brings out, especially in the matter

²⁵ Chap. XIII.

²⁶ Vol. II, pp. 247-255.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 32, note 1.

of *genre*, Villon's debt to Eustache Deschamps, his independence of Jean de Meung, his spiritual resemblance to Rutebeuf, whose work was probably unknown to him. He points out how little substance there is in Villon's debts to predecessors. When for example the poet borrows from the *Roman de la Rose*, the laments of the old woman who "n'est pas que vieille et se montre fort radoteuse," he creates a poignant masterpiece in ten stanzas, for he had "au moins autant des mots dans son cœur que dans sa tête," and the author draws attention to the real charm of the ballades *Des Dames du temps jadis* and *Des Seigneurs du temps jadis*, neither of them original in idea or in form, which resides in the light and musical rhymes of the one, with its romance of dimly apprehended personalities set off by the two thoroughly familiar historical names of Heloise and Joan of Arc, and in the strong hold on reality of the other, whose every name but two²⁸—thrown by the refrain into the poetic past—is that of a man dead within five years. He brings into relief the sense of reality patent in all Villon's work, "son procédé de concrétiser l'abstrait comme de réaliser les allégories": the legatees, *e. g.*, are real persons, and Mr Champion has identified many of them; the whole *Testament* is a parody—in its form a real will—and all the poems are full of the poet's own life, of his Paris, of his exile. Nor, according to Mr Champion, is his vision of his own heart and conscience any less real: "Rien n'égale en mouvement, en passion, en vérité, en beauté pathétique, cette sorte de grand soliloque qui forme le préambule du Testament, et dans lequel Villon maudit l'évêque cruel, célèbre le roi qui l'a délivré, dit son repentir et sa misère, nous parle de la mort et de la volupté, et insulte à nouveau l'évêque qui l'a enfermé." Mr Champion notes the greatness of the art in those real bequests the ballades, "purs joyaux que relient les huitains comme des chaînes d'or," the happy, inevitable choice of word and phrase, the weight and harmony of refrain, the masterly use of well-worn themes.

Mr Champion reminds us of that marked divergence of currents of thought so evident in the *recueils* of the time immediately subsequent to that of Villon; on the one hand the feudal tradition typified in the classic lover, melancholy, loyal, charming, faithful to spring and dews, buds and flowers, consoled by his own song; and on the other the realistic harsh naturalism of the poor youth, the poor clerk crying for substance not shadow, cynically persuaded of the power of money. Villon, who is so emphatically of the latter school, so essentially of the people, is still haunted by the fine language of Alain Chartier, still tinged with the traditions of chivalry. But taking the tradition of female beauty, or of meditation on mortality, as he found them, this poet *par excellence* of the pleasures of love, the poignancy of death, made of them something vital:

Corps femenin, qui tant est tendre,
Poly, souef, si précieux,
Te fauldra il ces maux attendre?
Oy, ou tout vif aller es cieulx.

Mr Champion discusses at length the question of the *portée sociale* of the *Testament*. Was it a satire against financiers? How dared Villon write against such powerful persons as are various of his legatees, at a time when libel was vigorously dealt with? He decides the first question in the negative; the poem serves but as a mirror of the times, expressing the general hatred of the poor

²⁸ Vol. II, p. 197.

for the rich, and he thinks that Villon attacks individuals who were for the most part already discredited.

Mr Champion rightly concludes that, whatever may be contributed to the interest or pathos of the *Testament* by the contradictions of Villon's nature and the extraordinary circumstances under which he wrote, its real value lies in a sovereign art, in the enchantments of an imperishable beauty.

There is an extremely interesting chapter on the "legend" of François Villon, which gathered about him almost immediately on the publication of his book in 1489, and would have him a madcap, jester, drinker, cheat, on whom were fastened practical jokes of any provenance,—a legend to which the publication of the *Repues franches* gave point and head, and for which he himself was largely responsible by his wish to be remembered as a good fool,²⁹ "lui qui a écrit les vers les plus cruellement vengeurs, les plus désolés sur le plaisir et la mort, lui qui interrogea si cruellement sa conscience, lui qui a vécu à la peine et qui a dit dans ce portrait plus vrai que toute peinture 'je riz en pleurs.'" Mr Champion adds that, although we can know Villon far better than the immediately following generations which forged the legends, we cannot understand nor forgive him without taking into account, no less than the bitterness of his lot, his remorse and his secure hope of his own salvation.

The book contains an admirable appendix including careful notices—and even genealogical tables—of various legatees, and, like the *Vie de Charles d'Orléans*, it is provided with a good index of proper names (the geographical names in italics). But both books suffer seriously from lack of a bibliography. As a mere source of information on the bibliography of the subject, the lack is more important in the *Charles d'Orléans* than in the *Villon*, where little new matter is introduced; but as a help towards reading the notes it is much needed in both books. To be forced, in the former work, to trace back a reference to "*Proceedings*" from (say) page 293 to page 170, and to find it still "*Proceedings*" is exasperating to a reader with the best will in the world.

Too much praise can hardly be given to the illustrations, drawn for the most part from contemporary manuscripts, monuments and documents.

Apart from the details noted, both the *Vie de Charles d'Orléans* and the *François Villon* are, in their *ensemble*, of a satisfying authority and scholarly completeness upon which the student of the literary and social history of the fifteenth century may in all security rely.

CAROLINE RUUTZ-REES.

GREENWICH, CONN.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

NOTES AND NEWS

Dr. Manoel de Oliveira Lima of Brazil has been selected as the first occupant of the new chair of Latin-American History and Economy at Harvard University.

Professor Colbert Searles of Leland Stanford University goes to the University of Minnesota as professor of Romance languages. Mr. Roger N. Lagow has accepted an instructorship in Spanish at the same university.

Dr. Arthur Livingston, of Columbia University, has recently been elected "Socio corrispondente estero" of the *Reale Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria*.

Dr. James L. Cattell of the University of Wisconsin has been appointed professor of French at Purdue University.

The editor of the *Buletino della Società Italiana* will be pleased to receive titles or reprints of all articles on Dante appearing in America, and has asked Mr. Rudolph Altrocchi of Harvard University to be kind enough to forward the same to him.

Dr. W. O. Farnsworth of the department of University Extension of Columbia University has accepted the assistant-professorship in Romance languages and the direction of the department at the University of Pittsburg.

Associate-professor Magdeleine Carret of Wellesley College has been appointed instructor in French at Barnard College and secretary of the *Maison Française* at Columbia University.

Assistant-professor Régis Michaud of Princeton University has been appointed associate-professor of French at Smith College. Professor George Underwood of Kenyon College becomes instructor in Romance languages at Smith. He has been succeeded at Kenyon College by Professor G. La Fayette Cram.

On July 4, 1914, occurred the death, in the 66th year of his age, of Hermann Suchier, since 1876 professor of Romance philology in the University of Halle. In 1878 Professor Suchier published his first edition of *Aucassin et Nicolette*, and in 1879 he began the publication of the *Bibliotheca normannica*. A few of the later landmarks of his productivity are *Altprovenzalische Denkmale* (1883), *Die französische und provenzalische Sprache* in Gröber's *Grundriss* (separately published in French in 1891), the admirable and richly illustrated *Geschichte der französischen litteratur von der Urzeit bis zum 16. Jahrhundert*, of which a second edition appeared in 1913, and *la Chançon de Guillelme* (1911), reviewed in the present number of the *ROMANIC REVIEW*.

Alessandro D'Ancona, Senator of the Kingdom of Italy, and widely known throughout the learned world as an authority on the history of Italian literature, died on November 8. He was born in 1835 and for fifty years had been a professor in the university of his native city. Among his important works may be mentioned *Scritti danteschi*, *Studi di letteratura popolare*, *Le Origini del teatro in Italia*, and *La Poesia popolare italiana*; and for many years he was editor of the *Rassegna bibliografica della letteratura italiana*.

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NOTES ON THE METRE OF THE POEM OF THE CID

(Continued from page 30)

WE saw in the preceding article¹ that Menéndez y Pelayo expressed the opinion that the romance-metre, instead of being a more or less direct descendant of the trochaic tetrameter of Latin poetry,² was preceded by another heroic verse of unknown structure. In his desire to account for this hypothetical measure, the eminent Spanish critic propounded a second theory³ which, though practically refuted by the considerations already presented,⁴ must be examined here somewhat in detail because it has recently been adopted, and made the point of departure for other hypotheses on the epic verse of Castile, by so learned an investigator as Federico Hanssen.⁵

Here are the words of Menéndez y Pelayo:

“Para que este hórrido y bárbaro metro se convirtiese en octonario, fué menester un trabajo de selección que eliminó los alejandrinos y los endecasílabos de cesura en la quinta; y en esta depuración, es claro que el principal, aunque misterioso agente, fué el genio de la lengua, más inclinada que ninguna de sus hermanos á las combinaciones trocaicas; pero no pudo ser indiferente la existencia de un tipo métrico análogo, sino idéntico, y que había sido empleado en poesías realmente populares, aunque no narrativas,

¹ ROMANIC REVIEW, 5, p. 23. (This article will henceforth be referred to by I.)

² Nevertheless, the same writer fully admits (*Antol.* 11, pp. 119-127) the use of this metre in Spain, and the historical relationship of Neo-Latin prosody with Roman versification.

³ *Antol.* 11, p. 127, and cf. *l. c.*, pp. 99-100.

⁴ See I, pp. 19-30.

⁵ *Notas al Poema del Cid*, Santiago de Chile, 1911, pp. 26-33.

sino líricos. El metro épico no nació del tetrámetro, como en Francia no nació del senario yámbico, pero se regularizó con su ejemplo."

This view is endorsed by Hanssen in the following terms:

Creo que la teoría espuesta por Menéndez acierta a la verdad, aunque envuelve dos suposiciones que, a primera vista, parecen inaceptables: la versificación regular de las *Chansons de Geste* se descompuso en España i se convirtió en prosa rimada, i, en una época posterior, esta misma prosa rimada se regularizó y dió por resultado el octonario de los romances.⁶

One looks in vain for a parallel in the poetry of other nations to the process here assumed. Granting for the moment that the versification of the *Chansons de Geste* influenced the epic verse of Castile—and our theorists indicate neither the time nor the place of such contact—why should it have undergone the pretended metamorphosis any more than, to cite only one example, the Provençal decasyllable adopted by the Gallego-Portuguese School in the twelfth century? Again, if rhymed prose, as is suggested, was chosen by the Castilian bard in order to impart a national character to his work, in antagonism to the French, why was it not retained? And if one appeals to the determining action of the Church upon the social and intellectual life of the nation, why not also consider that through this very tutelage the Hispanic minstrel may have acquired a musical and metrical execution similar to that of his fellow in France?⁷ Hanssen himself observes⁸ that the rhythmic art of the hymns was characterized by the counting of syllables quite as much as Romance metrics, and Arevalus⁹ testifies to the otherwise well-known fact that Latin hymns of popular character were regularly sung by the people in the churches. What then, authorizes the assumption that such an artist as the composer of the *Poema del Cid* could not satisfactorily reproduce the French

⁶ See *l. c.*, pp. 27-28.

⁷ Cf. e. g., F. d'Ovidio, *Sull' Origine dei versi italiani* in *Giornale Storico*, 32, p. 22, and Menéndez y Pelayo, *l. c.*, pp. 122-123, who only criticizes d'Ovidio for his failure to keep the epic metre apart from the lyric. See below.

⁸ *Zur lat. u. roman. Metrik*, Valparaíso, 1901, p. 30.

⁹ *Hymnodia hispanica*, Rome, 1786, p. 345: "Hi duo hymni conditi sunt, non ut intra officium ecclesiasticum recinantur, sed ut ab universo populo vel decantentur vel recitentur."

versification if he so desired, or did not have an appropriate instrument of his own? Is such authority secured from any more trustworthy source than the metrical disorder of the transcript of Per Abbat, regarding which Hanssen himself, in his review of Menéndez Pidal's *edición crítica*, says¹⁰: La forma actual del *Cantar* dista mucho de ser la originaria. También podemos suponer que primitivamente el metro fuese aun más regular que en la edición de Menéndez [Pidal]?¹¹

Even from considerations of a general character, then, the thesis proposed by Menéndez y Pelayo and Hanssen appears highly improbable. But let us examine it on its own merits. Where is the pretended dissolution of the French epic metres demonstrably exemplified, and in what manner? How is the separation of the lyric from the epic octosyllable, upon which our disintegrative critics insist, justified? No information is offered on these points.

As early as 1846, Diez had shown¹² that the Alexandrine was a measure of comparatively late development, and his conclusion has been confirmed by subsequent research.¹³ It is first found in the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* which belongs to the second quarter of the twelfth century¹⁴ and is consequently about contemporary with the *Poem of the Cid*, if the opinion is correct that the original composition of this epic precedes the year 1140.¹⁵ The decasyllable, on the other hand, until about 1150 the exclusive measure of the French epic, appears for the first time in the *Chanson de Roland*, the oldest known *chanson de geste*, the extant redaction of which dates from about

¹⁰ *Bulletin de Dialectol. romane*, 4 (1912), p. 136. A similar opinion was repeatedly expressed by Menéndez y Pelayo himself, as *Antol.* 2, pp. xxii, xxvi, and 11, p. 336, who thus again contradicts himself.

¹¹ Hanssen occasionally cites both Menéndez y Pelayo and Menéndez Pidal by the abbreviation "Menéndez."

¹² *Altromanische Sprachdenkmale*, Bonn, 1846, pp. 129-130.

¹³ Cf. Rajna, *Origini dell' epopea francese*, p. 500 f.; G. Paris, *Romania*, 13, p. 623; and especially Coulet, *Voyage de Charlemagne*, 1907, p. 387, who calls attention to the fact that all the epics contemporary with the *Voyage* employ the decasyllable.

¹⁴ See Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la litt. française*, 1, pp. 104-105, 113; Coulet, *l. c.*, pp. 384-387. The latter critic properly regards the *Voyage* or *Pèlerinage* as a didactic rather than an epic poem.

¹⁵ Cf. Baist, *Grundriss*, II, 2, p. 396; Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de Mio Cid*, 1, p. 28.

1099,¹⁶ in other words, at most fifty years before the Poem of the Cid.¹⁷ Supposing, now, that the action of the French epic upon the Castilian began, as Menéndez y Pelayo thought, with the *Chanson de Roland*,¹⁸ and that the imagined formation of the epic octosyllable by a process of natural selection was completed within something more than two centuries after that,¹⁹ are we to accept the peculiar metrical confusion of the copy of Per Abbat, from which this ingenious hypothesis is deduced, as a first result of the first fifty years (1099-1150) of the alleged rhythmical dissolution or selection? And if so, how are we to explain the presence in that text of not less than 28 per cent. of absolutely regular romance-hemistichs and 33 per cent. of heptasyllables,²⁰ which latter measure the late Spanish critic himself repeatedly identified with the Alexandrine?²¹ Not having appeared in the *chansons de geste* before 1140 at the earliest, how could the Alexandrine have become a part of what is claimed to be rhymed prose in the copy of Per Abbat? Or was it perchance consigned to the magic cauldron only after 1140, in other words at a time when it began to dominate the *mester de clerecía* for two centuries, though even then replaced in a good many works to the extent of 25 per cent. by the octosyllable?²² From what has been said it is evident that the Alexandrine could not have entered into the metrical system of the original composition of our Poem. As for the one hundred and forty cases of the decasyllable in the same work, we saw above²³ that Menéndez y Pelayo

¹⁶ See G. Paris, *Manuel*, § 22; Petit de Julleville, *l. c.*, pp. 85-89. Unless Menéndez y Pelayo (*Antol.* 11, p. 192) had in mind an older form of the *Roland* than the one we now have, as indeed would appear from other, somewhat conflicting utterances (*l. c.*, pp. 71-73), it is not clear how he could say that this epic became known in Spain in the eleventh century.

In the first part of an article on the *Rolandsdichter*, recently published in the *Zeitsch. f. rom. Philol.*, vol. 38, Tavernier asserts (p. 99) that the *Roland* was written by Tuoldus sometime after 1194.

¹⁷ It is used, however, in the Provençal poem of *Boethius*, composed not later than the beginning of the eleventh century, which, though not a *chanson de geste* itself, is cast in the mould of such an one.

¹⁸ *Antol.* 2, p. xv; 11, pp. 80-81, 185 ff.; also 3, p. 38.

¹⁹ *L. c.*, 11, pp. 93-95.

²⁰ See I, p. 27.

²¹ *L. c.* 2, p. xix; 11, pp. 9, 90.

²² See I, pp. 11, 15, 25, and 30, note 108.

²³ See I, pp. 14 and 27.

ruled them out as incompatible with the character of the epic verse of Castile, thus admitting that this verse was fully developed in the epoch of the Cid. As a matter of fact, it is highly improbable that the iambic decasyllable formed part of the original Poem for the reason that the *Chanson de Roland* itself was hardly known in Castile as early or as well as has been supposed. Charles, Roland and Oliver are first mentioned in the *Carmen Almeriae* (1147), while the Monk of Silo (about 1000)²⁴ has nothing to say of Roland and the epic concerning him, though he inveighs against Charlemagne and the Franks. It is characteristic of the uncritical manner in which this and other theses regarding the metrical history of the heroic poetry of Spain have been formed that in other parts of the same work Menéndez y Pelayo affirms²⁵ that the French decasyllable was always of rare occurrence in Castilian poetry,²⁶ that the Alexandrine was immediately upon its appearance in the Spanish epic overcome by the national octosyllable,²⁷ and again,²⁸ that in all probability the constant recitation of minstrelsy accustomed the writers of the *mester de clerecia*, as for example the author of the *Poema de Fernan Gonzalez*, to the cadence of the octosyllable, so that they frequently mixed this measure with the hemistichs of the Alexandrine.²⁹ The originator, then, of the theory under discussion himself concedes unequivocally the fact that the epic metre of Castile, the *verso de redondilla mayor*, was in full vigor in the twelfth century, and consequently that the assumed process of dissolution and selection, out of which it was to evolve in the course of more than two hundred years, never took place. The futility of his theory might have become apparent to him at once by an attentive study of the one hundred and eighty

²⁴ See *España Sagrada*, 17, p. 226.

²⁵ *L. c.*, II, pp. 82-83.

²⁶ As was stated above (I, p. 25, note 87), the iambic decasyllable was the favorite metre of the Gallego-Portuguese court-poets, many of whom were Castilians, and was used in narrative as well as in lyric composition.

²⁷ Cf. also *l. c.*, 2, p. xx, and especially II, pp. 81-82, where the statement is made that if the Castilian minstrel had imitated the French metres, he could have reproduced them perfectly. Here, then, the connection of French versification with the evolution of the octosyllable is explicitly denied. And on another occasion, *l. c.*, 2, p. xxxvi, the opinion is expressed that "la derivación francesa del metro (i. e., of the Alexandrine) ni está probada ni es verosímil" Cf. *l. c.*, p. 19.

²⁸ *L. c.*, II, p. 97.

²⁹ See I, pp. 11, 15, 25, 30, note.

miracle-lays of Alphonse X which not only make regular use of the catalectic and acatalectic forms of the trochaic tetrameter, but, as Wolf pointed out as early as 1853,⁸⁰ are practically cast in the mould of the romance type.⁸¹

The separation of the lyric from the epic octosyllable, of which so much has been made,⁸² is a purely arbitrary one. It is not borne out by the practice observable either in Spain or elsewhere in poetical tradition. The same metre serves epic and lyric expression, as may be seen, for example, in the political verse of modern Greece;⁸³ and epic and lyric blend in form and feeling the more we approach primitive conditions of poetry.⁸⁴

One more word here anent the matter of French influence upon the heroic song of Castile. After considering the respective claims of the sixteen-syllable and the Alexandrine to recognition as the metrical basis of the Poem of the Cid, Baist⁸⁵ observes:

⁸⁰ *Studien*, pp. 436-437, 715-719.

⁸¹ See I, p. 21, note 68. Menéndez y Pelayo's discussion of the *Cantigas de Santa María* in an article in the *Ilustración española y americana*, February, 1895, and *Antol.* 3, pp. ix-xi, shows that he had no knowledge of the metrical problems presented by them.

⁸² See *Antol.* II, p. 96: "Si no se admite el origen épico del octosílabo, su aparición resulta inexplicable"; and cf. *l. c.*, pp. 8, 94, 123, note 2, and p. 127; also Hanssen, *Notas*, p. 33.

⁸³ Cf. e. g., G. Meyer, *Essays und Studien*, p. 386.

⁸⁴ Cf. Rajna, *Origini*, p. 20: I popoli cominciano da una poesia unica nella sostanza, sebbene varia nelle applicazioni. Una medesima specie di verso serve tanto per ciò che sarà più tardi un genere, quanto per l'altro; poesia e musica s'accoppiano non meno se si ricordano i fatti e gli eroi del passato, che se s'invocano gli Dei. Bücher, *Arbeit. u. Rhythmus*, 4^{te} Aufl., 1909, p. 323: "Ein völliger Irrtum ist die Annahme, dass die Tanzlieder der Naturvölker wesentlich lyrischer Natur seien. Epische Elemente sind in ihnen vielleicht ebenso häufig." Regarding the growth of epic and lyric elements out of labor-song, see *l. c.*, pp. 380-388.

Nothing more erroneous, therefore, than Milá's dismissal of choral poetry as a medium of epic song (*Poesía heroica*, p. 406), especially in a country like Spain, in which, as is well known (cf. I, pp. 18-19), the singing of romances still goes hand in hand with the dance. We have here one of the many illustrations of Milá's purely theoretical idea of poetic genesis.

That Menéndez y Pelayo himself occasionally forgets his favorite theory of the separation of the lyric and the epic and of the late origin of the romances may be seen, e. g., from *Antol.* 12, pp. 31-32, where he describes an *endecha* composed shortly after 1146 as "el más antiguo vestigio de un género de poesía lírica popular, muy enlazado con los romances."

⁸⁵ *Grundriss*, II, 2, p. 390. Cf. also Hanssen, *Zur span. u. portug. Metrik*, p. 55.

"Nimmt man aber Cornus These im ganzen Umfange an, so braucht der Vers darum nicht vorfranzösisch zu sein. Gerade bei der Uebertragung von Alexandrinern mochte sich sprachlich das Bedürfniss nach einer Verlängerung geltend machen." As we have seen, this view, quite generally held,³⁶ is in contradiction with the long established fact that the Alexandrine does not appear in the French epic itself before 1140 at the earliest. Unless, then, the original redaction of the Poem was much later than that date, it could hardly have employed the Alexandrine, but must have adopted either the decasyllable or else a native metre (see I, p. 9). We are thus again led to the conclusion that contrary to the assertions of Baist³⁷ and Menéndez Pidal,³⁸ the 33 per cent. of heptasyllables in our extant Poem identified with Alexandrine hemistichs are due to a metrical recast which must have been attempted not very long after the original composition of the epic, probably between 1150 and 1175.³⁹

It now remains to inspect, as briefly as possible, an original contribution offered by Hanssen in support of Menéndez y Pelayo's fantastic idea. Proceeding from the extreme metrical irregularity of the extant copy of our Poem,⁴⁰ and from Menéndez Pidal's inference therefrom that the Castilian epic, instead of being sung, was accompanied by a simple recitative,⁴¹ the learned investigator of Santiago remarks: "Los romances, que aparecen compasados en las antiguas obras musicales, hoi en dia se cantan en Castilla

³⁶ Cf. Baist, *l. c.*: Im spanischen Heldenlied des 12. Jhs. lebt das französische des 10. neu auf, in unmittelbaren, freien durchaus nationalen Schöpfungen. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* 11, 9: "El poema de Alfonso XI . . . es un nuevo argumento, sin embargo, de que el alejandrino, que parece dominar en el *Poema del Cid* y probablemente en todas las gestas más antiguas, había cedido ya el puesto al metro nacional de diez y seis sílabas, cuyas huellas se perciben á cada momento en la prosificación de las varias refundiciones de la *Crónica General*. Cf. with this the discrepant statements of the same author cited, p. 299, and notes 27 and 28.

³⁷ *L. c.*, p. 397. See I, p. 28, note 97.

³⁸ *Cantar de Mio Cid*, 1, p. 33. See I, p. 5.

³⁹ See I, pp. 28-29. We shall have occasion further on to discuss the nature of the influence which French heroic song antecedent to the extant redaction of the *Chanson de Roland* may have had on the development of the Castilian epic.

⁴⁰ As we saw above (p. 297), Hanssen, within a year of adopting it, once more rejected this theory as a critical basis.

⁴¹ *Cantar de Mio Cid*, 1, pp. 102-103.

sin compas, con el ritmo natural del lenguaje hablado. Atestigua esta circunstancia Olmeda, *Folklore de Castilla*, Sevilla, 1903."⁴² To this it may be answered in the first place that even if the alleged practice were far more general than it really is, it would not follow that it also obtained in the period of the epics on the Infantes de Lara and the Cid.⁴³ Quite apart from a by no means unlikely imitation of the musical execution of the French *chansons de geste*, we may note that the structural agreement of the Poem of the Cid with the romances in point of assonance, paragoge and metre renders it highly probable, if not absolutely certain, that it was sung to measured music which did not admit of hemistichs varying between three and twelve or more syllables. And it may be answered in the second place that the modern method of recitation to which Hanssen appeals, is well known not to apply to balladry at all as a rule. Where it seems to obtain, it is due to incompetent collecting and recording far more than to reality.⁴⁴ While it is true that most collectors,—and this is exactly the case with Hanssen's authority Olmeda⁴⁵—rely upon the recitation of individuals who from the unnaturalness of the performance distort the character of their repertory, there is abundant evidence for Spain as well as for other countries,⁴⁶ that the heroic lay is sung by the festal throng at the communal dance, and that its textual and metrical exactness

⁴² *Notas*, p. 28.

⁴³ See I, pp. 28–30; also Hanssen, *Notas*, p. 12 (= *Revue de Dialectologie romane*, I, p. 459).

⁴⁴ See, e. g., the important article by Carolina Michaelis entitled: "*Estudos sobre o romanceiro peninsular*," in *Revista lusitana*, 2, pp. 156–179 and 193–240, in which (pp. 156–164) the deplorable results of hasty and uncritical collecting are clearly set forth, and witness is borne to the correctness, both rhythmical and textual, with which the romance is still preserved in communal dance and song.

⁴⁵ Olmeda explicitly states, *l. c.*, p. 12: "Habré recogido directamente del pueblo burgales, tomándolas unas veces de un solo cantor ó cantora, otras veces de un grupo de los mejores cantores ó cantoras del pueblo á los que reunía en un salón, próximamente unas seiscientas canciones." He nowhere says that he took any romances down from the choral song of the festal throng.

⁴⁶ See I, pp. 18–19; Carolina Michaelis, *l. c.*, pp. 158–160; Francisco Sota, *Chronica de los Principes de Asturias y Cantabria* (Madrid 1861), says in his account of Rodrigo Gonzalez (pp. 544–580): "A la prision del conde se hizo un romance que hasta hoy canta la juventud de Asturias de Santillana en sus bayles y danzas"; Duran, *Romana. gen.*, I, p. liv. Bücher, *l. c.*, pp. 84–85, and especially 386–387: "Auf den Faröern singt man die Heldenlieder in den Spinnstuben und zum Reigentanze, und Aehnliches finden wir auch bei den Alten."

is thus handed down from one generation to another. Needless to say that the same principle applies to the earliest period of vernacular verse in the Peninsula. While the activity of the minstrel, and the creation of a poem like the one on the Cid, betoken a very high development of heroic poetry in Castile at the beginning of the twelfth century, and indicate an appreciable remove from conditions of purely collective improvisation, yet that poetry was still essentially the expression⁴⁷ of a nation of uniform intellectual life. For this reason we may, as was done above,⁴⁸ regard exact rhythm as one of its essential elements and reject as wholly unfounded Hanssen's theory of the disintegration of a regular rhythm or metre long before the date of the composition of the Poem of the Cid.⁴⁹ The further back we go in the evolution of poetry, the more we find construction instead of dissolution. The latter process appears in the wake of conditions well recognized by the student of ethnology and comparative poetics.⁵⁰

In our case, it was the rise of literary art in the twelfth century⁵¹ which prepared the rupture of that social consent which had become especially strong in Spain through the close companionship of noble and commoner in the long struggle against the Crescent.⁵² The first note of this intellectual divorce of lay-society is heard in the much-cited fling of the author of the *Libro de Alexandre* at the *mester de juglaría*.⁵³ And the relegation of ballad-singing as a

⁴⁷ Cf. the definition of the term "people" in the *Siete Partidas*, II, 10, 1: "Cuidan algunos omes que pueblo es llamado la gente menuda, asi como menestrales et labradores, mas esto non es ansi ca. . . . Pueblo llaman el ayuntamiento de todos los omes comunalmente, de los mayores et de los menores et de los medianos."

⁴⁸ See I, pp. 17-18.

⁴⁹ *Notas*, p. 29.

⁵⁰ See e. g., G. Meyer, *l. c.*, p. 309: "Ein Volk, das lesen und schreiben kann, hört auf zu improvisieren . . . und die Geburtsstunde einer Literatur ist zugleich die Todesstunde des Volksliedes. Darum wissen wir aus dem alten Griechenland, wo die Literatur in so ungewöhnlichem Masse populär geworden war, sehr wenig von der Volksdichtung"; and Gummere, *l. c.*, pp. 177-180.

⁵¹ See I, p. 29.

⁵² Menéndez Pidal (*Romancero español*, the Hispanic Society, 1910, p. 9) reverses the historical order of events when he says: "Entonces, entre esos mismos siglos XIV y XV . . . se fraguaba en la frontera andaluza el alma nacional, confundiendo á nobles y plebeyos en comunes empresas, en ideales y sentimientos comunes," etc.

⁵³ See I, pp. 24-25.

communal practice to the unlettered class of the people is marked as an accomplished fact by a celebrated utterance of the Marques de Santillana. After dividing in his invaluable *Prohemio*,⁵⁴ written in Guadalajara in 1449, all lyric poetry of a literary character ("que en nuestro vulgar gaya sçiençia llamamos," as he says) into three grades, the *sublime*, the *mediocre* and the *infimo*,⁵⁵ and designating the verse of the Greeks and Latins as *sublime*, and that of writers in the vernacular, like Guido Guinicelli and Arnaut Daniel, whom he understood to have been the first to compose *terza rima* and sonnets,⁵⁶ as *mediocre*, the great Castilian humanist defines the *infimo* or lowest grade as follows: "*Infimos son aquellos que sin ningun orden, regla, nin cuento façen estos romances é cantares de que las gentes de baxa é servil condiçion se alegran.*"

What is the real meaning of this statement the great import of which for the literary history of Spain cannot be denied?

As the *Prohemio* is throughout exclusively concerned with literary verse, it is hardly to be supposed that the *romances* and *cantares* here compared with the elaborately versified scholastic lyrism of Italy and Provence were thought of as popular poetry in any strict sense of the term. They must consequently be understood as literary compositions reproducing songs designated by these terms, the exact sense of which it thus becomes our duty to determine.

As regards the name *romances*, there can scarcely be any doubt that it was used by Santillana in the acceptation which we find elsewhere in contemporary literature⁵⁷ and which has been the regular one since his day. We refer for the present to the discussion of the *romance* as such by Nebrija in his *Gramática castellana* (1492)⁵⁸ and by Encina in his *Arte de trobar* (1496).⁵⁹ It is not

⁵⁴ Published by Amador de los Rios, *Obras de D. Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza*, pp. 1-18, and by Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* 5, pp. 18-29.

⁵⁵ See *l. c.*, § IX.

⁵⁶ Santillana confesses (*l. c.*): "que destos yo non he visto obra alguna," from which it appears that he knew of the Provençal style only through the Consistory of the Gay Science and the Catalans.

⁵⁷ For the signification of the words *romanz*, *romance*, *romanso* see Wolf, *Studien*, p. 401 ff.; Milá y Fontanals, *l. c.*, p. 416 ff.; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* 11, pp. 6-9. The earliest known Portuguese use of the term is found in *Canc. de Resende*, III, p. 358.

⁵⁸ Printed in *Antol.* 5; see p. 65, cap. VIII.

⁵⁹ Printed *l. c.*; see p. 44, cap. VII.

unlikely, however, that the word was employed in the same sense before the fifteenth century, as e. g. in the following reference of the *General* (p. 375 a 27) to the poetical legend of Bernardo del Carpio: "Et algunos dizen en sus romances et en sus cantares que el rey quando lo sopo" etc.,⁶⁰ where it is linked with *cantares* as in Santillana; or again in *General* p. 471 a 33: "dize aqui en el castellano la estoria del *Romanz* dell inffant Garcia dotra manera." Menéndez y Pelayo (*Antol.*, vol. II) interprets the last cited passage in two different ways. At first (pp. 7-8), while entertaining the usual suspicion of the presence of an extensive poem, he declares that *estoria del Romanz* cannot mean anything but "historia en romance, es decir, en lengua vulgar"; later, however (pp. 254-257), he is quite positive that *romanz* refers here to a large epic in three divisions. The first suggestion is obviously wrong, not only because *estoria del romanz* is not the equivalent of *estoria en romanz*, but because it is not probable that the compilers of the *General* contrasted the previously cited Latin chronicles of Archbishop Rodrigo and of Lucas Tudensis with a third prose-text, and also because, as a matter of fact, the *General* does exhibit traces of a poetical source.⁶¹ If, then, the text relating the tragic death of Garcia was in poetical form, what reason have we for assuming that this was a more or less extensive epic, and not one or more smaller songs of the species later termed *romances*? Milá y Fontanals⁶² regards the legend as one likely to have called forth "un cantar que pudo ser de regulares dimensiones," but admits that the existence of such a poem is nothing more than probable; Menéndez y Pelayo, on the other hand, treats it as a matter of fact, just as he confidently speaks of several *cantares de gesta* on King Rodrigo and Bernardo del Carpio,⁶³ without offering proof in either case. It is obvious that sober criticism is concerned not with the question whether a certain tragic feud was or was not of a nature to inspire a long poetic narrative—Italy is rich in sinister tragedies, and yet has no national epopee—but whether such an epic actually existed, and if so, at what time it originated. A large popular epic, as every student of poetic genesis knows, is not an easy, rustic piece

⁶⁰ Variant of Ms. T for *romances*] *razones*.

⁶¹ Cf. Milá, *l. c.*, p. 198, and Baist, *Grundriss*, II, 2, p. 395.

⁶² *L. c.*, p. 201.

⁶³ *Antol.* II, pp. 157-159, 197, 207-208.

of work, but presupposes a considerably advanced stage in the art of composition. Now, few will seriously contend that such a point of broad, synthetic production had been reached in Castile in the first third of the eleventh century, to which the events narrated belong, while France, with a much broader national life, and with a literary activity at once earlier and incomparably richer than that of Spain, was still waiting for the final elaboration of her first national epic, the *Chanson de Roland*.⁶⁴ If, then, the alleged *cantar de gesta* on the Infante Garcia ever existed, it must have been composed at a much later date.⁶⁵ And as heroic tradition must be either at once fixed in poetic form or, as may have happened with the legend of the Infantes de Lara, kept alive by some such exterior object as a monument or a tomb,⁶⁶ if it is not soon to fall into oblivion, we are justified in assuming that our tragic legend was committed to the memory of men in smaller songs long before it could become, by the organic development of one or more of these, the leading theme of a large epic. We may reckon, then, in any case with the elaboration, in the period under discussion, of epic lays of smaller compass, and consider it as highly probable, if not certain, that it was one of these, and not a vanished long composition, that the compilers of the *General* referred to by the word *romanz*.⁶⁷ Combined with the other instance contained in the same chronicle, and with cases presently to be cited, it establishes a presumption in favor of the opinion that as early as the 13th century

⁶⁴ See above, pp. 297-298, and note 16. That the type of the popular French epic existed long before the final redaction of the *Chanson de Roland* is shown by the use of its form in the *Alexis* and the Provençal poem on Boethius.

⁶⁵ Menéndez y Pelayo must have been of this opinion himself if one may judge from statements like the following (*Antol.* 2, p. xv): "Que la poesía más antigua influyese en la más moderna: que la admirable *Canción de Rolando*, divulgada por lo menos desde el siglo XI, y tan interesante á los españoles por su asunto, se hiciese familiar á nuestros juglares. . . . era no sólo natural, sino históricamente forzoso."

⁶⁶ See G. Paris, *Romania*, 13, pp. 602, 617 ff.; *La légende des Infants de Lara*, p. 19 (reprint from *Journal des Savants*, 1898). It is safe to say that the conjectured original epic on this subject (cf. I, pp. 8-9), of a second redaction of which Menéndez Pidal has recovered some 400 more or less fragmentary lines, was a poem of even smaller extent than is supposed. Cf. Morf, *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1900, p. 392.

⁶⁷ It is true that *romanz* occurs in the second *explicit* of the copy of Per Abbat (l. 3733) with reference to the whole work, but it is doubtful that it was there intended to mean anything more than poem or narrative in general.

the word *romanz* or *romance* had come to adopt, among its other meanings, the special one which it has in Santillana and his contemporaries.

The case of *cantares* is not nearly so clear. Santillana's coupling of this term with *romances* has led many to take it with Wolf⁶⁸ in the sense of large epics, and to refer it directly to the only known example of this class of verse, the Poem of the Cid. It will be necessary to examine here as briefly as possible the various uses of the term *cantar*.

1. Song in general, whether epic or lyric. *General* 312 a 42 (*Duelo de España*) Oblidados le son los sus cantares; *Siete Partidas*, II, 6, 21: Alegrías y ha otras sin las que diximos en las leyes antes destas. . . . E estas son oyr cantares e sonos de estrumentos, e jugar axedrez; II, 20, 21: que los juglares non dixiesen ante ellos (sc. los caballeros) otros cantares sinon de gesta.

2. Lyric poem, whether sacred or secular. *General* 231, b: quando oyeron las uozes destos cantares (referring to *hymnos* and *cantigas*); Berceo, *Duelo* c, 176: controbando cantares que non valiesen tres figas. Alphonse X, *Cantigas de S. Maria*, 6, 4: Era un cantar en que Diz: Gaude, Virgo Maria; cf. *ibid.* 281, 366, no. 11 of *fiestas* (p. 600); Juan Roiz, c. 12, 19, 915, etc.; *Rimado de Palacio*, c. 706, 745, 753, 779, 829, 841, 862; *Canc. Baena*, Nos. 14, 202, 268, 430, 558.

In the four other passages of his works in which Santillana employs the word *cantar*, it unquestionably denotes a lyric song. Thus *Prohemio* (*l. c.*, p. 5, § VI); En metro las epithalamias, que son cantares que en loor de los novios en las bodas se cantan, son conpuestos; again, *l. c.*, p. 13 § XVI: Usó una manera de decir cantares, asy como scénicos Plauto é Terencio, tambien en estrambotes como en serranas; in a quotation-song (p. 403): Este cantar dolorido; and finally in the *villancico* (p. 462) addressed to his daughters, which is itself an example of the traditional love-poetry imitated by the courtly singers of the period:

⁶⁸ See *Studien*, p. 416, where it is referred to the Poem of the Cid, and cf. e. g., Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* 11, p. 95, and Lidforss, *Cantares*, p. 102.

⁶⁹ *Poesía heroica*, p. 154. Cf. the passage cited above from the *General* (p. 375 a 27).

Començo de sospirar
 E deçir este cantar
 Con muy honesta messura :
 La niña que amores ha,
 Sola, como dormiré?⁷⁰

3. Epic lay, or ballad. *General*, 351 a 21 : Et algunos dizen en sus cantares et en sus fablas⁷¹ que fue este Bernaldo fijo de donna Timbor hermana de Carlos rey de Francia; 355 b 49 Et algunos dizen en sus cantares et en sus fablas de gesta que conquirio Carlos en Espanna muchas çipdades et muchos castiellos;⁷² 371 a 25 E dizen algunos en sus cantares segund cuenta la historia⁷³ que este frances *Bueso* que so primo era de Bernaldo; 375 a 27 Et algunos dizen en sus romances et en sus cantares que el rey quando lo sopo que mando quel fiziessen bannos.⁷⁴

As may be seen from these passages, the *General* invariably refers to the poetical source of the legend of Bernardo and Bueso by the plural term *cantares*, never by the singular *cantar*. Without even so much as attempting to answer the unavoidable question what kind of songs, whether a number of extensive productions, or a series of smaller lays, the compilers of the chronicle must have designated by the plural expression *cantares*, Milá (pp. 163-167) tells us that the poetical legend of Bernardo, not being mentioned in the *Carmen de Almeria*, was probably formed between the date of that poem (1147) and the composition of the school-epic on Fernan Gonzalez (1250) where it appears for the first time;⁷⁵ while Menéndez y Pelayo⁷⁶ concludes (p. 197) from this bare mention of *cantares* that "No un solo cantar de gesta, sino varios, y nada conformes entre sí, habían corrido sobre las aven-

⁷⁰ For this ancient refrain, see Lang, *Canc. Gallego-Castelh.* p. 223, and *Revue Hispanique*, 16, p. 14, note 1.

⁷¹ Mss. LO read: cantares de gesta que, etc., omitting *fablas*.

⁷² Ms. L reads: maguer que los juglares cuentan en sus cantares de gesta que, etc.

⁷³ *Segund* to *historia* omitted in Mss. TB.

⁷⁴ Romances] razones T, en seu romanço A.

⁷⁵ P. 163, note 1, Milá remarks: No es de presumir que se descubran ni que existan ahora cantares de Bernaldo.

⁷⁶ *Antol.* 11, pp. 176-216.

turas del héroe;"⁷⁷ and not content with this, he declares it (p. 207-208) as almost beyond a doubt that Bernardo must have been the subject of "uno ó más *mesteres de juglaría* posteriores á la *General* é independientes de su texto," without which "there would be no explanation for the origin of the only romance on Bernardo"⁷⁸ which may properly be called *old* and breathes the spirit of the heroic muse."

Considering first the undetermined number of epics of divergent tradition claimed to have been known and in part utilized by the compilers of the *General*, we are confronted with the question, not even touched upon by the Spanish critic, whether the production of these lost poems was coetaneous with the personages they sang, say the first half of the ninth century; or whether, as Milá apparently thought (see above), it is to be assigned to the period (1140-1250) to which we are indebted for the only two extant, far from really popular, epics, the Poem of the Cid and the one on Fernan Gonzalez. Upon the first supposition the turbulent little states of Northern Spain are credited with the attainment of a phase of higher composition undreamt of in heroic France in those days, and wholly incompatible with the indisputable fact that a popular epic develops organically out of a more primitive art of smaller lays contemporary with the events.⁷⁹ Upon the

⁷⁷ Cf. p. 198: "En otras gestas, ó en estas mismas, se atribuían á Bernardo grandes empresas en Francia; and again, *l. c.*: Precisamente en esta familia de cantares desdeñados por la *General*, estaban los únicos elementos históricos de la leyenda." Cf. Milá, *l. c.*, p. 396, who naïvely says: "Sabemos que la historia poética de Bernardo formaba una serie de cantares extensos," whereas in a passage cited above, p. 12, note 6, he expresses himself with more caution. Baist, *l. c.*, p. 391, does not claim the existence of any extensive song or songs on our hero.

⁷⁸ "Con cartas y mensajeros, el rey al Carpio envió" (*Primavera*, nos. 13 and 13a).

⁷⁹ The reason why Menéndez y Pelayo was not disturbed by such questions as the one under discussion, becomes apparent from the painful facility with which Milá y Fontanals (*Poesía heroica*, p. 406) solved the problem of the genesis of a large epic poem: "3. *Primitiva forma del cantar de gesta*. Facilísima es la explicación del origen del cantar épico. Ocurre un hecho notable. Un individuo que se reconoce con dotes para salir airoso de su intento, movido de la impresion que el hecho le ha causado y deseoso de comunicarla (lo cual no está absolutamente reñido con la expectativa de ganancia), lo narra á un cierto número de oyentes. El narrador, que no es un simple noticiario, imprime en sus palabras cierta solemnidad y aparato. Aguijonéale la inspiracion: adopta

second supposition it remains to be explained (cf. above, p. 10) how a heroic tradition based upon events of the eighth and ninth centuries and dealing, as in this instance, chiefly with a personage created by the popular imagination, could perpetuate itself during three hundred years or more, if not immediately cast into the mould of that class of lyric-epic songs which, as Lope de Vega so happily expressed it, "nacén al coger los trigos."⁸⁰ So long as it is not conclusively shown that without such a poetic embodiment of the tradition or such other aid as was indicated above, a people can be sufficiently enthused over a hero centuries after his death to evoke the creation of a popular epic, and so long as no traces of a poetic text or texts discernible in the *General* have been proved with reasonable clearness to form part of two or more extensive poems rather than of a number of minor songs, we submit that the *cantares* cited in the chronicle do not refer to two or more large epics,⁸¹ but to traditional ballads,⁸² and that they thus testify to the existence of a ballad-type in the thirteenth century, if not earlier.

As for the one or two large poems which Menéndez y Pelayo assumes to have been composed after the *General*, in other words, about the beginning of the fourteenth century, and which he would

un ritmo más ó ménos vago y cierta entonacion musical; da á los incidentes y á las circunstancias del hecho la animacion y el resalto con que los percibe su acalorada fantasia. Estas son las *nuevas* cantadas, el hecho histórico sin invenciones ni ornato, pero poéticamente realizado. Absortos los oyentes se mantienen de todo punto pasivos; no interrumpen al narrador ni siquiera con versos repetidos á intervalos; únicamente desean enterarse de la historia, de la gesta. Este ha de ser el origen, naturalmente narrativo, de la poesia épica." Here we have the key to Milá's theory of the origin of the romances. See, for a similar view, Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* 11, p. 41.

⁸⁰ Menéndez y Pelayo, *l. c.*, p. 39, denies the existence of such songs, not because it is "metafísicamente imposible, sino porque no tenemos la más leve noticia ni el menor rastro de semejante poesia." Supposing that this were true, what evidence has our critic for the sixteen or more *cantares de gesta* with which he adorns the Castilian Parnassus?

⁸¹ That it is extensive compositions that Menéndez y Pelayo means by the term *cantares de gesta*, may be seen, *l. c.*, p. 40: "A veces los compiladores fluctúan entre varias versiones, pero todas de la misma especie: hasta los rastros de la versificación asonantada sirven para probar que tenían á la vista cantares muy largos y naturalmente indivisos."

⁸² A more detailed examination of this point will be found in the discussion of the respective ballad on Bernardo.

have us consider as the only possible source of what is to him the only old romance on Bernardo, it may suffice here to say, in the first place, that this idea is again unsupported by even a suspicion of evidence; in the second place, that the time for the creation of new popular epics had passed, this art showing signs of decadence prior to the compilation of the *General*,⁸³ in the third place, that according to a doctrine professed by Menéndez Pidal⁸⁴ it is not to primitive and fresh, but to recast and decadent epics that the oldest and finest ballads handed down owe their life; and finally, that the cherished theory of the derivation of the romances as a type from the débris of large poems remains yet to be proved. How is it, we may ask here, that of the many epics, and particularly the recasts of old epics which are said to have been written between 1000-1400 or even later, not a single one has been preserved even in a demonstrable fragment, while we do have romances which, according to the same theorists, date from as early as the first part of the fourteenth century?⁸⁵

Let us now return to our *cantares*.

General 509 a 37 "et dizen en los cantares de las gestas que la touo cercada VII annos; mas esto non pudo ser etc."⁸⁶ Unless we assume the existence of two full-bodied epopees on the siege of Zamora instead of the one claimed by Menéndez y Pelayo⁸⁷ and Menéndez Pidal,⁸⁸ it will hardly be safe to say that the *cantares* cited in this passage were anything more than minor epic songs, presumably of the extent of such *romances juglarescos* as the ones in Conde Alarcos, Gaiferos or Baldovinos. *Cronica de 1344*⁸⁹ (p. 322): "E por esta onra que el rey ovo fué llamado despues el par de Emperador, é por esto dixerón los cantares que passó los puertos de Aspa á pesar de franceses." *Tercera Cronica General* 225 c.: "non son de creer todas las cosas que los omes dizen en sus cantares." *Cronica de Veinte*

⁸³ See e. g., Menéndez Pidal, *Leyenda*, p. 40 f.; *Homenaje*, I, p. 447; *Cantar de Mio Cid*, I, pp. 128-130, and *Romancero*, p. 8.

⁸⁴ See *Leyenda*, pp. 44-45; *Epopée*, pp. 9, 145-146; *Romancero*, pp. 10-11, 16.

⁸⁵ Cf. e. g., Menéndez Pidal, *Leyenda*, pp. 42-46, 82-84; *Homenaje á Menéndez y Pelayo*, I, 447-455; *Romancero*, pp. 8-19; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* II, p. 274.

⁸⁶ Mss. F O omit *de las gestas*.

⁸⁷ *Antol.* II, 333-335.

⁸⁸ *Epopée*, pp. 57-80.

⁸⁹ The quotations from this still unedited chronicle are taken from the *Antología* of Menéndez y Pelayo.

Reyes,⁹⁰ cited by Berganza, *Antigüedades de España*, I, 420: "E algunos dizen en sus cantares que avia el Rey un fijo de ganancia que era Cardenal en Roma é legado en toda España, é abad de San Fagund, . . . este avia nombre D. Fernando, mas esto non lo fallamos en las estorias que los maestros escrebieron, é por ende tenemos que non fué verdad." Another passage from the *Crónica de veinte reyes*, the only compilation in which, so far as the material now accessible to us warrants a judgment, the poetical source is referred to by the singular *cantar* instead of the plural *cantares*, will be discussed later in connection with the romance "Doliente estaba, doliente, ese buen rey don Fernando." From what has already been said it seems manifest that without the support of specific proof in each instance, which has not as yet been produced, it is contrary to the most elementary principles of science to assert, as has been done so freely, that the *cantares* cited by the chroniclers were so many large poems. A serious inquiry should long ago have been made into the question whether the use of minor heroic songs, the existence of which is abundantly documented in the popular tradition of other nations, is not rendered far more probable by known conditions of epic evolution and by the undeniable occurrence, in contemporary Hispanic poetry, of narrative songs of a popular type having some of the essential metrical traits of the romance.⁹¹

As for the term *cantar de gesta* which Menéndez y Pelayo⁹² affirms was applied to large epics, it never occurs in any of the documents so far cited by critics in any but the plural form *cantares de gesta*, and the example adduced by the Spanish critic from Mss. L O of the *General*, p. 351 a 21, is, as we have seen, not a case in

⁹⁰ See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* II. p. 334, and note I. Ms. F—132 of this chronicle, preserved in the *Biblioteca Nacional* at Madrid, does not contain this passage.

⁹¹ See for specific proof of this our next article (III).

⁹² *Antol.* II, p. 13: "No hay duda en cuanto al nombre de estos poemas. Se llamaron *cantares de gesta*, aunque á veces se encuentren separadas ambas palabras." The French expression *chanson de geste* in the sense of a large epic is first met with in a passage (ll. 6678-6679) of Chrestien de Troies' *Erec*, to which Prof. F. M. Warren of Yale called my attention. It is not likely, however, that the form *cantares de gesta* occurring in the *General* was based upon the French *chanson de geste*, and there is, as we have seen, good reason for the opinion that it had a different meaning.

point since the term cannot, without specific proof to the contrary, be interpreted to mean anything more than "songs of heroic deeds."⁹³ The same is true of another passage referring to Bernardo (*General*, 355 b 49); of the injunction quoted above from *Siete Partidas* II, 20, 21, where the obvious sense is "no other songs but those of heroic deeds"; and of the one other instance at present known, "los cantares de las gestas" (*General*, 509 a 37), which explains itself. The only genuine Castilian epic we have, the Poem of the Cid, uses no other term for epic song than *cantar* (l. 2,276),⁹⁴ applied to the second of the three parts into which the author divided his splendid work. The word *gesta* (1085) occurring in the same section is not, as Menéndez Pidal holds with Milá,⁹⁵ synonymous with *cantar*, but signifies, as elsewhere in ancient texts, 'memorable deeds.'⁹⁶ The appearance of these *cantares* of between eleven and fifteen hundred lines may give us an idea of the probable scope of such a *cantar* as the one on the Infantes de Lara, and shows that beginning with the eleventh century there must have been a decided movement towards broader conceptions which, stimulated somewhat later by the powerful intellectual impulse imparted by France, culminated in the Poem of the Cid, the highest and conclusive product of the epic spirit of Castile.

In the thirteenth century, we find *cantar* employed by Alphonse

⁹³ In his glossary to Santillana's work, s. v. *gesta*, Amador de los Rios says: "Dióse el nombre de *cantares de gesta* á todo linage de poesía histórica, recibéndolo por excelencia los romances heroicos, que constituían la popular." Cf. also the same writer's remarks in *Historia crítica*, 2, pp. 473-475.

⁹⁴ Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de Mio Cid*, 2, p. 532, defines this term as follows: "Cada una de las largas partes en que se dividía la narración de los poemas épicos cantados por los juglares." This interpretation, taken from Milá, *Poesía heroica*, pp. 396-397, is correct enough for the *Poem of the Cid*, but what authority is there for saying that the usage in question was general?

⁹⁵ *Poesía heroica*, pp. 242, 468; *Cantar de Mio Cid*, 2, s. v. *gesta*.

⁹⁶ See e. g., *General*, p. 83 b; *Libro de Alexandre*, cop. 3, 309, 719, 943, 2411, 2424; Berceo, *S. Dom.*, 487, 571, 754; Milag., 370; *Sacrif.*, 245; *Canc. Baena*, 554. With the signification of "account of heroic events," *gestas* was apparently used in 1573 by Diego Hurtado de Mendoza with reference to the so-called *Poema de Alfonso Onceno*: "Hallé esse libro, que es de lo que en España llamavan gestas." In the sense of "epic poem," the word *gesta* seems to be used in the well-known parody by the Portuguese Alfonso Lopes de Bayam (*Canc. Vat.*, 1080).

X in his Galician miracle-lays, as No. 172: e desto cantares fezemos que cantassen os jograes, or No. 401:

Macar poucos cantares
acabei e con son,
Uirgen, dos teus miragres,
péço-ch'ora por don
que rogues a teu Fillo etc.⁹⁷

In the fourteenth century, Juan Roiz confesses (c. 1,514) to composing

cantares de los que dizen los ciegos⁹⁸
e para escolares que andan nocherniegos,

which Wolf⁹⁹ was inclined to consider imitations of the popular style.

Finally, at the time of Santillana, Anton de Montoro uses *cantar* with the force of romance:

De arte de ciego jugar
que canta viejas fazañas
que con un solo *cantar*
cala todas las Españas.¹⁰⁰

and a hundred years later, Alonso Tellez de Meneses, in his *Historia del principado del orbe*, t. XIV, testifies to the same usage: ". . . el conde Garci Fernández venció al poderoso Almançor en la gran batalla de Caxcaxares, do le fueron tan buenos los infantes de Lara que, segun dizen hasta hoy los cantares de aquellos tiempos, dezia muchas vezes por ellos el conde: que si por ellos no fuera, no tornaramos aca."¹⁰¹

From what has been said it must be apparent that there is no foundation for the assumption of the Spanish critics that the expression *cantares de gesta* occurring in thirteenth century documents was understood to designate more or less extensive epics, nor

⁹⁷ Cf. also 5, 107, etc.

⁹⁸ See *coplas*, 1710-1728.

⁹⁹ *Studien*, pp. 129, 136-138.

¹⁰⁰ *Cancion. de Anton de Montoro*, Madrid, 1900, p. 277.

¹⁰¹ Ms. of *Bibliot. Nacional*, sign. F-18, fol. 13.

that the singular term *cantar de gesta* was used as the equivalent of the French *chanson de geste*. It, therefore, seems far more reasonable to consider that the *cantares* cited by the *General* and other chronicles as sources of information were minor heroic songs of a character closely akin to, if not substantially identical with, the models of the romances recorded since the days of Rodrigue de la Camara.

Returning now to Santillana's criticism, we may say that by the word *cantares*, as used in it, we need not understand anything more than either a synonym of *romances*,¹⁰² or else lyric songs of a popular character. Which one of these two categories of verse he had in mind, it is hardly possible to determine with absolute certainty. The fact that the narrative lay, from the very nature of the case, clings more than the lyric to primitive conditions, speaks for the first interpretation; but the following considerations may be urged in behalf of the second: To say nothing of the circumstance that elsewhere in his writings Santillana uses *cantar* only in the sense of lyric song, and that the *Prohemio* is chiefly concerned with the history of lyric and allegorical poetry,¹⁰³ one may reasonably doubt that he chose exclusively epic composition for an appropriate contrast with the artificial lyrism of Guido Guinicelli and Arnaut Daniel, disregarding entirely the large body of lyric verse written before and during his own time in courtly imitation of traditional types. An example of his own selection of such models is seen in the *villancico* cited above (p. 308).¹⁰⁴ It would be difficult

¹⁰² Milá, *l. c.*, p. 401, states that the terms *romances* and *cantares* are synonymous in the two passages cited from the *General* and from Santillana. Otherwise, however, the views expressed in this article are entirely at variance with his.

¹⁰³ With the exception of the *romances*, the works of Homer, Ennius and Virgil are the only epic poetry that is at all mentioned in the *Prohemio*. It is worthy of note, however, that in the *Prólogo* to the *Proverbios* (see *Obras*, p. 24) addressed to the Infante D. Enrique, Santillana refers directly to the heroes of the only two Castilian epics we actually have: "E aun sy á vuestra Excellencia place que tanto non nos alonguemos de vuestras regiones é tierras, ayamos memoria del Cid Ruy Diaz é del Conde Fernan Gonzalez."

¹⁰⁴ This seems to have been Baist's understanding when, after copying (*Grundriss*, II, 2, p. 430) the passage in the *Prohemio*, he remarked: "Aber in dem *Villancico* 'Por una gentil floresta' singen seine drei Schönen drei Volksweisen und zuletzt er selbst die vierte." For the traditional character of the *villancico* see e. g., Carolina Michaelis, *Canc. da Ajuda*, 2, pp. 787-791.

to show that his *serranillas*,¹⁰⁵ in some of which he appears truly inspired, rested, as is so commonly supposed, exclusively on Provençal and Galician instead of native Asturian and Castilian patterns, though it cannot be questioned that foreign examples stimulated his interest in what he saw about him. The same is true of Juan Roiz who a century before had caught the note from the shepherdesses of his native mountains.¹⁰⁶ We know from Santillana himself¹⁰⁷ that his grandfather Pero González de Mendoza "usó una manera de decir cantares . . . tambien en *estrambotes* como en *serranas*,¹⁰⁸ and Alfonso Alvarez de Villasandino confesses¹⁰⁹ to having provided the minstrels with songs cast in the traditional lyric type called *estrambote* or *estribote*.¹¹⁰ In the well-known symbolization of the tree of love by Diego Furtado de Mendoza, the father of Santillana, we have a literary handling of the parallelistic type of folksong familiar from the Gallego-Portuguese school,¹¹¹ and testifying to its descent from communal dance and music by its name *cossante*¹¹² as well as by its structure and rhythm:

A aquel arbol, que mueve la foxa,
algo se le antoxa.
Aquel arbol del bel mirar
façe de manyera flores quiere dar :

¹⁰⁵ See *Obras*, pp. 464-478. Another composition in the form of a *serrana*, published by Menéndez Pidal in *Bulletin Hispanique*, 10 (1908), pp. 408-411, from the *Cancionero* 2—F—5 (formerly VII—Y—4) of the Royal Library at Madrid, is of a far more courtly tone.

¹⁰⁶ See Ducamin's ed., *coplas*, 959-971, 987-992, 997-1005, 1022-1042, and cf. Wolf, *Studien*, pp. 116, 457.

¹⁰⁷ *Prohemio*, § XVI.

¹⁰⁸ A stanza of one of these *serranas* is preserved in *Canc. Baena*, no. 252.

¹⁰⁹ *Canc. Baena*, no. 546. See *l. c.*, the poems called *estribote*, nos. 2, 141, 196, 219.

¹¹⁰ On the relation of this type to the French *estribot*, the Provençal *estribot* and the Italian *strambotto*, see the writer's article in *Scritti vari di filologia e di critica in onore di Rodolfo Renier*, Torino, 1913, pp. 613-621.

¹¹¹ See I, pp. 18-21.

¹¹² Cf. e. g., *Cancion. de A. de Montoro* (Madrid), p. 269: Cantador de cosante; *Cancion. General*, I, no. 125 (p. 302): corsantes; *Crónica de Pero Niño* (ed. Puymaigre, Paris, 1867), p. 351: Muchas danzas e cosantes e chantarelas; Rios, *Historia crítica*, 2, p. 295; *El Hadits* de la Princesa Zoraida, p. 251: Danzaron y cantaron solos y en cosante damas y caballeros. The word is derived from *cosso* = *cursus*, "river-bed"; "racing-course"; "dancing-place."

algo se le antoxa.

Aquel arbol del bel veyer

façe de manyera quiere florecer:

algo se le antoxa, etc.¹¹³

From these cases, which are only a few representative specimens of the wealth of material contained in the *cancioneros* and other literary records of the fifteenth century, it must be apparent to every one that the one hundred years preceding the *Prohemio* were marked quite as much by the literary cultivation of the traditional lyric forms as by that of the romance which, from its very nature, itself contains lyric elements.¹¹⁴ On a mere balance of probabilities, therefore, it is permissible to assume that by the expression *cantares* Santillana intended to include in his comment lyric poetry of the character described.

Why, we must now ask, did he define our "romances é cantares" as examples of the third, or lowest, grade of literary poesy? Doubtless because in consequence of the simpler, more natural art from which they sprang, and the essential traits of which they could not abandon without loss of identity, they could not conform either in spirit or in metrical structure with the rules of the *Gaya Sciencia* which the illustrious disciple of Dante, as was seen above, looked upon as identical with poesy itself, and which, as he reminds us,¹¹⁵ gained the ascendancy in Castile in the second half of the fourteenth century.¹¹⁶ The frequency with which we find the practitioners of this art accusing each other of ignorance or infraction of precepts like those concerning accent, hiatus, *mançobre* and

¹¹³ Printed by Rios, *l. c.*, pp. 293-294, from fol. 6 v° of the ms. *cancionero* X¹ (2-F-5 = antiguo VII-A-3) of the Royal Library at Madrid.

¹¹⁴ See above, pp. 299-300.

¹¹⁵ *Prohemio*, § XVII.

¹¹⁶ The date of its introduction is indicated by the lost *Reglas de como se debe trobar*, composed by Juan Manuel before 1334. See Baist, *Libro de la Casa*, p. 154, and the present writer in *Revue Hispanique*, 16 (1907), pp. 10-11. Subsequent references to this new art are by Juan Roiz, *Prólogo*, p. 7; in the *Relación de un ermitaño* (1382), in *Bibliot. de Autores españoles*, 57, p. 387, and in some well-known verses of Pero Lopez de Ayala, in *Canc. Baena*, Madrid, 1851, pp. 549-555. In the *Canc. Baena* we find the *gay saber* constantly glorified, as *Prólogo*, p. 9, and nos. 255, 275, 340, 429, 453, 464, 550.

*metro*¹¹⁷ shows how much value was attached to them, and how strong the older current still was.¹¹⁸ Santillana himself forestalls possible censure of his repetition of the same rhymes in his *Proverbios* (1437) by an appeal to the laws of the Consistory of the Gay Science.¹¹⁹ Viewed in the light of its true setting, Santillana's severe judgment assumes a deeper meaning than has commonly been attached to it. While it can hardly be doubted that some of the balladists of his day were of humble origin, it is manifest that the expression *infimos* did not refer to this fact any more than *mediocre* was meant to characterize Guido Guinicelli and Arnaut Daniel as of indifferent social station. It simply described them as engaged in literary work which could not satisfy the rigid formalism of the style cultivated by the comparatively small coterie of intellectuals,¹²⁰ and was consequently of a much lower grade than the *mediocre*, to which latter most of Santillana's own best writing belonged. In all probability, therefore, the Castilian *littérateur* included in his

¹¹⁷ See e. g., *Prólogo* to *Proverbios*, § 4; the praise of D. Alfonso in *Comedicta de Ponça*, st. XXVII; and Gomez Manrique, *Cancionero*, 2, p. 155, referring to Juan Poeta:

El no sabe que es acento,
non ditongo nin mançobre.

Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 232-233, what is said about "leyes e reglas de metros."

¹¹⁸ See e. g., *Canc. Baena*, nos. 139, 293, 398, 522, 523; and the debate of Ferrant Manuel de Lando with Villasandino, Juan Alfonso de Baena and others, *l. c.*, nos. 253-275. In a petition to the king, Villasandino begs pardon for non-observance of the rules of the art (no. 210).

¹¹⁹ *L. c.*, § 4 (p. 26). Finding in two previously unpublished poems of Santillana contained in the Ms. *Cancionero* X² (2-F-5, formerly VII-Y-4) of the Royal Library at Madrid impure rhymes like *velos: cabellos, syrúa: viuva*, Menéndez Pidal (*Bulletin hispanique*, 10 (1908), p. 410) expresses the opinion that in view of Santillana's technical skill these rhymes must be regarded as mere scribal errors. This is contrary to the well-known fact that the very best poets, both in Castile and elsewhere, resorted to such rhymes. In Santillana's *Proverbios*, to cite only a few instances, we meet (p. 49, st. LIV) with *Vagnes* (for *Evadnes*): *Damnes*; in st. III of his much-quoted *villancico* the ditty inserted rhymes in *pene: delle*. Similar cases might be instanced in abundance from Berceo down to the *Cancionero General*, as may be seen from the present writer's notes in ROMANIC REVIEW, 2, p. 341.

¹²⁰ Baist, who nowhere takes account of the communal origin of balladry, remarks (*Grundriss*, II, 2, p. 431): "Der Romanze aber kamen nicht im selben Masse wie den *Cantares* (i. e., those referred to in the passage cited from the *Prohemio*) Musik und Tradition zu Hilfe; wenn wir sie trotzdem die obere Kunstschicht durchbrechen sehen, so zeigt das wie dünn diese noch war."

classification, beside himself, noted singers like Rodriguez de la Camara and Carvajal,¹²¹ Villasandino, Juan Roiz and others, fully as he recognized their literary merit in other respects.¹²² It is furthermore evident that the attribute *sin orden, regla nin cuento*, which Santillana bestows upon these compositions of the third or lowest grade, refers to the absence in them of the metrical artistry of the Gay Science¹²³ and of the Italianate School, and was not, as has too often been taken for granted, intended to mark as irregular the verse of the ballads, and even of the Poem of the Cid.¹²⁴ Santillana knew fully as well as Nebrija and Encina¹²⁵ that the ballad-verse had a regular number of syllables, and it was shown above,¹²⁶ that this was essentially true of the oldest period also. In so far as the syllabic irregularity of a Spanish verse in comparison with foreign metres is concerned, the rhythm of the *verso de arte mayor* would have served him as a far better illustration than the hemistichs of the trochaic tetrameter. It was in passing from the former metre, the only persistent native long-line of Spanish literature, to the Italian hendecasyllable, that the author of the *Prohemio* learned to lay stress on the *cuento de las syllabas* (see above, p. 318, note 117).

Let us now consider the last part of the *Prohemio's* definition in which we are informed that the folk of lowly and menial station take delight in "estos romances é cantares." It is in this clause that the rupture of the intellectual solidarity of the people of the fifteenth century is poignantly expressed. But these words, the deliberate utterance of him who has given us the first critical account of Romance poetry, have still another message for us.

¹²¹ See Baist, *l. c.*, p. 432; Rennert, *Zeitsch. f. rom. Philol.*, 17, pp. 544-558; Pio Rajna, *Mélanges Picot*, 2, pp. 115-134.

¹²² *Prohemio*, §§ XIV and XVI.

¹²³ See Wolf's review of Gatién-Arnoult's edition of the *Leys d'Amors* (*Studien*, pp. 235-270), which is still the best that has been said on this subject.

¹²⁴ An interpretation which is particularly inconsistent with the theory of Menéndez Pidal and others, that the *Poem of the Cid*, in the form in which we have it, had ceased to be sung twenty years before it was copied by Per Abbot (see *Cantar de Mio Cid*, I, p. 29), and that the metre of the romances, while derived from that of the extensive epics, rested on a basis different from that of the original Poem (*l. c.*, pp. 101-103).

¹²⁵ *Gramática castellana* (1492), I, II, cap. VIII; *Arte de trobar*, cap V.

¹²⁶ See I, pp. 1-30; and above, pp. 295-303.

¹²⁷ See I, pp. 20-21.

How did the unlettered community, then even more than to-day by far the largest part of the Spanish nation, come to enjoy songs of this kind? Was it a taste but recently acquired from those who by the writing¹²⁸ of such verse invited Santillana's censure, something like the way in which the *profanum vulgus* of these latter days catches the ephemeral jingle of the concert-hall—a process mistaken by more than one critic for the true genesis of popular song¹²⁹—or like the manner in which, according to Rosenberg,¹³⁰ the good folk of Iceland first learned the art of dancing from Celts landing there in 1200?

Some such interpretation as this will probably be put upon the words of Santillana by those who assert that the form in which the romances first appear in the collections of the fifteenth century and later cannot with any good reason be regarded as appreciably different from the primitive one, and that consequently that century is the time of their true development.¹³¹ But let us observe that our authority does not say that “*estos romances é cantares*” were composed *in order that* the lowly might take delight in them, in other words, for the benefit of this class of people. What he clearly tells us is that *the songs made by certain poets were*

¹²⁸ This, or “composing,” is unquestionably the meaning of *façen* as used by Santillana in our passage and elsewhere in the *Prohemio*. Thus §1: *Fiçe buscar é escrever por orden, segunt que las yo fiçe, las [cosas] que en este pequeno volumen vos envio: §4: quel primero que fiço rimos é cantó en metro aya sido Moysen. . . . E Salomon metrificados fiço los sus Proverbios*. Cf. also §§ XIII-XX. To render *façer* in our case by *inventer*, as is done in both editions of Fitzmaurice-Kelly's *Littérature espagnole* (pp. 116, 134), is, to say the least, misleading.

¹²⁹ See the opinion of Menéndez Pidal quoted below, under §9 of the discussion of individual ballads, and for an especial defence of this superficial theory the work of J. Meier, *Kunstlieder im Volksmunde*, Halle, 1906.

¹³⁰ Nordboernes Aandsliv fra old-tiden til vore dage, Kjöbenhavn, 1878-1885, II, p. 437 ff.

¹³¹ See e. g., G. Gregory Smith's very shallow book, *The Transition Period*, New York, 1900, pp. 223-227, and also pp. 181-184, and J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Littérature espagnole*, 2^e éd., 1913, pp. 132, 134. Being concerned here with the history of the type rather than with that of the earliest text of any one romance in particular, we need not examine in detail the merits of the position taken in the works referred to in this note. Suffice it here to say that its fallacy is apparent to any one familiar with such cases as “*Helo, helo, por do viene*” (see *Zeitsch. f. rom. Philol.*, 16, pp. 40-89), or the copies of romances prior to those recorded in the collections of 1550, and exhibiting a different form (see e. g., *Antol.* 9, p. 353).

in the manner of those which the humbler orders of society enjoyed singing at their festal gatherings. If this be the correct understanding of the words under discussion, we may accept them as a direct testimony to the existence in the first half of the fifteenth century of a poetic type living in the oral memory of the Spanish folk, and preserved in its choral dance and song in the same way as the same class of poetry perpetuates itself to-day in Asturias, Galicia and Northern Portugal as well as in other parts of Europe, to say nothing of less civilized regions. The earliest "romances é cantares," therefore, which have reached us in script and print, can be regarded as originals only in the sense that they are the first preserved literary redactions of preexisting forms which, from the unconscious character of folksong, were not written down. This view is supported by a number of considerations and facts.

It is obvious that the songs in question would not have been chosen by Santillana for a comparison of merits with the highly wrought lyric style of Italy and Provence and the artistic verse of classical antiquity, if their literary elaboration, instead of being already in vogue, had only just begun in the first third of the fifteenth century; nor is it likely that either Juan Alvarez Gato (d. 1490)¹³² or Nebrija¹³³ and Encina¹³⁴ would have spoken of the romances as an old type in that case. Now, as the first appearance in literature of a new, distinct literary form, and the passing of the anonymous phase, mark not the time when a poetic movement is born, but when it has ripened into a self-conscious art, it follows that the literary production of "estos romances é cantares" documented for the first half of the century of the distinguished Castilian humanist, was the culmination of a poetic development hark-

¹³² *Cancionero inédito de J. A. G.*, Madrid, 1901, p. 16, *Cabo*:

La locura por el seso,
por palacios tristes cuevas,
por lindas canciones nuevas
los romances de Don Bueso;
diéronme por haz en vez,
hiciéronme mill engaños,
algo más de sesenta años
me ponie por ventitres.

¹³³ See above, p. 319, note 125.

¹³⁴ *Arte de trovar*, cap. 7.

ing back to an ancient popular tradition. In this respect, the history of our "romances é cantares" is, as might have been expected by any one, nothing more than a parallel to that of the oldest Provençal and French court-poetry whose earliest extant examples, whether narrative or purely lyric, repose, as Jeanroy and Paris have conclusively shown in their admirable studies,¹³⁵ to a very considerable degree upon an older popular art, the more primitive forms of which must, in more than one instance, be sought in the more archaic tradition of other parts of the Romance domain, particularly in the Gallego-Portuguese lyric. With regard to this latter school, of the close affiliation of which with the metrics of Northern and Central Spain we have already spoken,¹³⁶ it need only be observed here that it presents some typical forms which in some quarters would doubtless be positively declared as original productions of that period if they could not be shown to exist in the poetry of China collected seven hundred years before our era.¹³⁷ It is not necessary to cite other instances, such as the Sicilian Poetic School, in illustration of the evolution of national literary types, under the influence of learned elements, out of a native popular art.

As for specific evidence to the effect that Castilian literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is to a large extent undeniably indebted to an ancient Hispanic tradition, we have it, in the first place, in such poetic types as the *serranas*, *villancicos* and *estribotes* mentioned above (pp. 308-316), but especially in the *cos-sante* of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and the popular distich quoted in the *villancico* of his illustrious son, both of which are found, in identical form, in the archaic Gallego-Portuguese songs recorded two hundred years before. We have it, in the second place, in the *verso de arte mayor*, the importance of which for the history of Castilian poetry has not as yet been duly appreciated.

This metre, a combination, as is well known, of two *versos de redondilla menor*,¹³⁸ appears in the literary records of Castile in the first

¹³⁵ *Origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen-âge*, Paris, 1889; and review of this work by G. Paris, under the same title, in *Journal des Savants*, 1891-1892 (reprinted MDCCCXCII, 63 pp.).

¹³⁶ See I, pp. 18-23, and the literature on the subject there referred to.

¹³⁷ See Jeanroy, *l. c.* p. 70; Lang, *Liederbuch*, p. cxcii, and *Bausteine z. rom. Philol.*, 1905, pp. 29-30.

¹³⁸ With regard to the prosody of this verse, see I, pp. 11, 20, and the careful study of Foulché-Delbosc in *Revue hispanique*, 10 (1902), pp. 75-138.

half of the fourteenth century,¹³⁹ and predominates in the more formal and larger poems of the fifteenth. While Pero Lopez de Ayala¹⁴⁰ and the author of the *Danza de la Muerte* still use the older form of the octava, ababbccb, the later writers, and even the one of the *Revelación de un ermitaño* (1382), favor the schemes sanctioned by the Gay Science, chiefly the one in abbaacca.¹⁴¹ As has already been said,¹⁴² the *verso de arte mayor* is in all probability of common origin with a class of twelve syllables cultivated by the Gallego-Portuguese lyrists¹⁴³ and with the *muñeira*-rhythm of modern Galicia and Asturias, forms¹⁴⁴ which in their turn may be akin to a dactylic rhythm occurring in Mozarabic hymns.¹⁴⁵ Its hemistich is used by Alphonse X in miracle-lays¹⁴⁶ which, as will be shown later, structurally differ from the romance-type only in so far as rhyme is employed in them as such, and varies from stanza to stanza;¹⁴⁷ it is also found in romances collected from the oral tradition of Asturia¹⁴⁸ and of the Oriental Jews.¹⁴⁹ In view of the Galician *muñeira*, however, and of its Asturian parallel previously mentioned,¹⁵⁰ the two Asturian ballads on Bueso and the three Jewish pieces may, as Menéndez y Pelayo would have it, be treated as examples of the traditional full line corresponding to the literary *verso de arte mayor*. In his

¹³⁹ It occurs, as Hanssen has pointed out (*Versificación de Juan Manuel*, Santiago, 1902), in the distichs of *Exemplos* XXIX, XXXVIII and XLIV of the *Conde Lucanor*, and in the form of hemistichs, in Juan Roiz, *coplas*, 1022-1042 (*Los metros de Juan Roiz*, 1902, p. 58).

¹⁴⁰ *Rimado de Palacio*, *coplas* 794-829, 834; *Canc. Baena*, no. 518a.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Wolf, *l. c.*, pp. 152, 159, 162, 255-256. This scheme still prevails in the sixteenth century, as in the *Cancionero* of the Toledan poet Sebastian de Horozco (*Sociedad de bibliófilos andaluces*, 1874, pp. 62, 94, 224, 231, 243).

¹⁴² I, pp. 11, 20.

¹⁴³ E. g., *Canc. Vat.*, nos. 466, 958, 963, 1025; *Canc. Col.-Branc.*, nos. 149, 348; Alphonse X, *CM*, 32, 134. Cf. *Liederbuch*, pp. cxii-cxiv.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Hanssen, *Zur. span. u. portug. Metrik*, pp. 56-63.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Hanssen, *l. c.*, pp. 63-64. This rhythm, which Nebrija, *l. c.*, calls *verso adónico*, may also be recognized in the sapphic-adonic stanzas of the Latin hymn on the Cid, composed in the life-time of the hero. See the text in Du Méril, *Poésies pop. lat. du moyen-âge*, p. 308 f.; Rios, *Historia crítica*, 2, p. 342 f.; and the article by Baist, *Zeitsch. f. rom. Philol.*, 5, p. 69.

¹⁴⁶ *CM* (= *Cantigas de S. Maria*), nos. 241, 251.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Wolf, *l. c.*, p. 437.

¹⁴⁸ See J. Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía popular*, nos. xv, xvi; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* 10, nos. 16, 17.

¹⁴⁹ *Antol.* 10, pp. 342-349, nos. 48, 51, 52.

¹⁵⁰ I, pp. 11, 20.

study of this long metre,¹⁵¹ in which the related popular types are entirely overlooked, Morel-Fatio remarks that it was abandoned towards the middle of the sixteenth century. This statement is not correct. Though our verse doubtless gave way more and more to the Italian hendecasyllable, it continued for some time to be looked upon as an appropriate measure "para cosas graves e arduas," as Encina expressed it. Thus it is used by Cervantes in the *Galatea* (1585)¹⁵² in a poem of eleven stanzas, with the regular rhyme-scheme abbaacca; by Rengifo (1592),¹⁵³ by Lopez de Ubeda in the *Picara Justina* (1605),¹⁵⁴ who entitles his composition "octavas de arte mayor antigua," but follows Rengifo in the use of the different rhyme-order abababcc,¹⁵⁵ and finally, to omit other instances, by Leandro Fernandez de Moratin (1760-1828) in a poem of fifteen stanzas with the old scheme abbaacca, and written (1797) "en lenguaje y verso antiguo."¹⁵⁶ The *verso de arte mayor*, therefore, was an important element of the artistic poetry of Spain from about the middle of the fourteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century,¹⁵⁷ and continued, in a more restricted way, for a hundred and fifty years longer. Its older and more popular forms reach from the literary verse of the thirteenth century down to the folksong of our own day. In this respect it stands in marked and significant contrast to the double *verso de redondilla mayor*, the Spanish correspondent of the trochaic catalectic tetrameter.¹⁵⁸ Outside of the restored fragments of the *cantar* on the Infantes de Lara¹⁵⁹ and of the Poem of the Cid,¹⁶⁰ the only extant

¹⁵¹ *Romania*, 23, pp. 209-231.

¹⁵² *Biblioteca de Autores españoles*, I, p. 41, bk. III.

¹⁵³ *Arte poetica*, 1592, cap. LIX.

¹⁵⁴ L. III, cap. 4 (*Bibliot. de Aut. esp.*, 33, p. 162).

¹⁵⁵ This scheme is unknown to the *cancioneros* of Baeña, Stufiga, Nieva, and occurs only once in the *Canc. General*, with a different metre (II, *Apénd.*, no. 272).

¹⁵⁶ *Bibl. de Aut. esp.*, 2, p. 582, no. vi. For other examples preceding Moratin's, see Baist, *Grundriss*, II, 2, p. 425, note 3.

¹⁵⁷ Regarding its use in the *Cancionero de Resende*, see C. Michaelis in *Grundriss*, II, 2, p. 273.

¹⁵⁸ See I, p. 23, note 79.

¹⁵⁹ See I, p. 9, and note 19.

¹⁶⁰ See I, p. 13, note 35. As will be shown later, a methodical treatment of the received text will result in some additions to the number of 267 full lines now extant. As for the *Rodrigo*, in which one may recognize some one hundred

specimens of the genuine national epopee of Castile, this long measure is not found employed as the regular form of any class of Spanish poetry. It occurs, as we saw before,¹⁶¹ to some extent among the Alexandrines of the *mester de clerecía* of the thirteenth century, and sporadically in the fourteenth, in the verse of Juan Manuel,¹⁶² Juan Roiz¹⁶³ and Pero López de Ayala,¹⁶⁴ but in this very period it virtually disappears from Spanish poetry, whether literary or popular. This fact is all the more noteworthy as the hemistich of this long line, the octosyllable, is of much greater frequency than the *verso de redondilla menor*, and has remained, as it was of old, the typically national verse of the Peninsula.

How is it that the combination of this octosyllable in what is frequently regarded as the normal romance-line so early lost its hold upon the poetic tradition of Spain? Though brought up by Wolf more than fifty years ago,¹⁶⁵ this important question has been almost entirely ignored since his day. Doubtless because his doctrine regarding the history of epic song in the Peninsula, however sound in many essential points, was by many critics rejected *in toto* on account of his adhesion to what has been termed the Small Song Theory, a theory against the ill-considered and mechanical application of which a sharp reaction was already under way at his time. But the abuse of a theory is no sufficient reason for discarding the theory itself. In the light of modern research, both literary and ethnological, the idea that the large poem can, as Comparetti expressed it.¹⁶⁶ "only be the outcome of an ulterior phase of art which itself is developed organically from a preceding phase, with new forms and style proportioned to the nature of the new work, form and style being also developed from foregoing elements and fifty double octosyllables, it is not an epic poem in the true sense of the term, but a learned cento of diverse epic materials. Cf. e. g., Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* 11, pp. 337, 343.

¹⁶¹ See I, pp. 14-16, 24; and above, pp. 298-299.

¹⁶² The distichs of *exemplos* 11, 16 in the *Conde Lucanor*. Cf. Hanssen, *Versificación de Juan Manuel*.

¹⁶³ *Coplas* 74, 76, 78, and intermittently elsewhere.

¹⁶⁴ Quatrains 708-710, 780-783, 840-841. The metre of 1291-1298 = *Canc. Baena*, 518b (p. 555), is open to question.

¹⁶⁵ *L. c.*, pp. 411-425.

¹⁶⁶ *The Traditional Poetry of the Finns*. Translated by I. M. Anderton. With introduction by Andrew Lang. Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1898, pp. 353-354.

ments," this idea, we say, is no longer a critics' quarrel, but an indisputable scientific fact.¹⁶⁷ From it the question raised by Wolf receives new significance, especially because, as we shall see, during the past few decades the number of extensive Castilian epics has been increased in inverse ratio to the evidence available. If, instead of the one large Poem on the Cid which we actually have, and the epics on the Infantes de Lara and Fernan Gonzalez, the existence of which there is some reason to infer, Castile possessed not less than sixteen more on other subjects,¹⁶⁸ produced between 1000 and 1200, besides recasts of some of these falling within the period from 1200 to 1450,¹⁶⁹ how is it, one naturally asks, that the vigor of epic activity and artistic life implied in such generous production failed so utterly to establish the epic long verse in the metrical practice of the nation? To come to concrete cases, how is it that the *Poema de Alfonso XI*, written before 1350 by a witness of the victory of the Salado (1340), though a work of literary character, is composed in quatrains of octosyllables (abab), not in the

¹⁶⁷ As such it is accepted by the most eminent and independent modern investigators, such as G. Paris, *Romania*, 13, 617-618; *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, p. 2 f.; Gustav Meyer, *Essays u. Studien*, p. 311; Nigra, *Canti Popolari del Piemonte*, 1888, pp. xviii-xx. G. Finsler, *Homer. Erster Teil: Der Dichter und seine Welt. Zweite Auflage*, Leipzig, 1913, p. 66, says: "Nun ist die Ilias, wie noch genauer darzulegen ist, mit Benutzung vorhandener Epen nach einheitlichem Plane verfasst," and p. 410: "Ein sicheres Resultat Chadwicks (*The Heroic Age*, Cambridge, 1912) ist, dass zwischen dem Einzellied und dem grossen Epos eine Entwicklung liegt, wie er sie auf germanischem Boden nachgewiesen hat. Diese müssen wir auch bei Homer suchen. Dass zwischen der mykenischen und der homerischen Kultur eine solche Entwicklung liegen muss, geht aus Drerups Darlegungen hervor, ja er gibt zu, dass Homer archaisiere." The same position is taken in the works of Bücher and Gummere previously quoted.

¹⁶⁸ Confining ourselves for illustration to Menéndez y Pelayo's presentation of the matter (*Antol.* II and 12), we note (II, 157-160) not only one, but several large epics on King Rodrigo: (197-208) three or more on Bernardo del Cárpio (cf. above, pp. 13-15), (225-226) one or more on Fernan Gonzalez not utilized by the chronicles, and (p. 235) one used by the chronicle of 1344; (242) one on the Infante Garci Fernandez; (251) one on the Infante Sancho García; (252, cf. above, pp. 9-11) one on the Infante García; (333-334) one on Fernando I; (334-335) one on the siege of Zamora and one on the *mocedades* of the Cid, known as "El Rodrigo"; (12, pp. 21-22) one on Albar Fañez; (46-47) one on Los caballeros Hinojosas; (74-75), one on Abbot Juan de Montemayor; (321) several on the Carolingian cycle.

¹⁶⁹ (*Antol.* II, 273) two recasts of the epic on the Infantes de Lara; (321) one of the Cid-poem (cf. above, p. 311, note 83); one of the *Rodrigo*.

long line?¹⁷⁰ How is it, again, that what are considered the oldest romances are not preserved in the sixteen-syllable, but in separate octosyllables with alternate assonance (abcb)?

Do the written and printed texts in which the romances are handed down to us represent their metrical character in its integrity? It is manifest that this question must be conclusively answered in the negative before any proposition to alter the received text can be entertained. While it is true that critical editions are still wanting for most of the texts involved, it must be admitted that this defect is largely offset in our case by the practically complete accord of all the extant material with regard to the metrical form which interests us here. We are therefore fully justified in accepting this form as the one intended by the writers to whose redactions we are indebted for the existing examples of the traditional ballad.

Fully aware of the fact that Castile did not produce the number of large poems necessary to account for all of the extant historical romances, Baist advances the theory that the latter drew their legendary matter from the chronicles,¹⁷¹ their metrical form from the epic,¹⁷² forgetting his assertion¹⁷³ that the original metre of the Castilian epic was the French Alexandrine, not the indigenous trochaic tetrameter. As a well-trained critic, however, he recognizes with Wolf and others that it was not the sixteen-syllable as such, no matter how admissible theoretically, but its broken form with assonance in the alternate *versos de redondilla mayor*, that dominated the metrical practice of the time of Juan Rodriguez de la Cámara.¹⁷⁴ Not so the Spanish school of criticism. As this

¹⁷⁰ Note the remark of Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* II, p. 9: "Al siglo XIV corresponde una interesante muestra de octosílabos encadenados, que no sólo por el metro, sino por el estilo narrativo, tiene cierta semejanza con los romances . . . el poema ó crónica rimada de Alfonso XI." This reminds one of Milá y Fontanals, *Compendio del Arte Poética*, Barcelona, 1844, p. 115. Somewhat different, but hardly more accurate are the statements of Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *l. c.*, pp. 64 and 113.

¹⁷¹ *Grundriss f. rom. Phil.*, II, 2, p. 399.

¹⁷² *L. c.*, p. 432.

¹⁷³ See above, pp. 300-301.

¹⁷⁴ *Grundriss*, p. 431: "Theoretisch ist das Mass der romanische Vierzehnsilbner, im Gesang aber und in der Empfindung des 15. Jhs. werden daraus zwei Kurzverse; Melodien und meist auch handschriftliche Abteilung entsprechen der seit Encina giltigen Theorie."

school, contrary to all evidence, contends that the trochaic sixteen-syllable only came into being in the course of the fourteenth century¹⁷⁵ when, according to its doctrine, the large epic was being abandoned by the higher classes to the rest of the people in the fragmentary form of lays known as romances,¹⁷⁶ it is forced to the assumption that these small epico-lyric songs must have been the ones to employ the new long metre as such.¹⁷⁷ It is thus that Menéndez y Pelayo, both in his reprint of Wolf's *Primavera*¹⁷⁸ and in his edition of *Romances populares recogidos de la tradicion oral*,¹⁷⁹ replaced the octosyllable of his sources by the long line, applying this uncritical procedure even to the short verses of the *danza prima* ballad assigned to two distinct choruses,¹⁸⁰ to the Jewish lay "Ya vino el niño" whose refrain is thus obscured,¹⁸¹ and to other compositions of similar structure.¹⁸² His reasons are stated as follows:¹⁸³ "La costumbre de escribir separados los octosílabos fué introducida en los romances de trovadores, y sin duda por influencia lírica, pero la unidad del primitivo verso está atestiguada por los más antiguos tratadistas, así de gramática como

¹⁷⁵ Milá y Fontanals, *Poesía heroica*, pp. 398, 406-408; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* 11, pp. 82, 94-95, 127 (see above, pp. 1-6); Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de Mio Cid*, 1, pp. 83-85, 102-104 (see I, pp. 1-14, and above, pp. 295-300). According to the last named scholar, no definite metre is discoverable even in the extant redaction of the *Rodrigo* assigned by him to the fifteenth century (*Cantar de Mio Cid*, 1, p. 85; *Épopée*, p. 137), while Menéndez y Pelayo (*Antol.* 11, p. 90) says: "Así como la métrica del *Poema del Cid* hace el efecto de un mester de clerecía incipiente, la del *Rodrigo* deja la impresión de una serie de romances, informes y tosquísimos."

¹⁷⁶ Milá y Fontanals, *Observaciones sobre la poesía popular*, etc., Barcelona, 1853, pp. 7-8, 56; *Poesía heroica*, pp. 400-401; Menéndez y Pelayo, *l. c.*, pp. 9, 39-40, 45-46; Menéndez Pidal, *Leyenda*, pp. 37-46; *Épopée*, pp. 157-158; *Romancero español*, pp. 5, 8-10; Morf, *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1900, p. 393.

¹⁷⁷ Menéndez Pidal, *Leyenda*, pp. 416-417; *Épopée*, p. 163; *Romancero*, p. 17: "Los cantares de gesta eran . . . escritos en metro largo é irregular, predominando los versos de catorce sílabas y más tarde los de diez y seis. . . Los romances están compuestos en versos largos de diez y seis sílabas." Cf. also *Homenaje*, 1, p. 453, and Morf, *l. c.*

¹⁷⁸ *Antol.*, volumes 8 and 9.

¹⁷⁹ *L. c.*, vol. 10.

¹⁸⁰ See I, p. 19, and note 61; *Antol.* 10, pp. 79-82.

¹⁸¹ *L. c.*, p. 342, no. 49. See *Revue des Études juives*, vol. 33, p. 138.

¹⁸² *L. c.*, p. 76, no. 24; p. 87, no. 29; p. 102, no. 37; p. 103, no. 38; p. 116, no. 44; p. 124, no. 48; p. 180, no. 15.

¹⁸³ *Antol.* 11, pp. 91-92.

de música."¹⁸⁴ With Milá y Fontanals,¹⁸⁵ to whom he clings here as elsewhere, Menéndez y Pelayo thereupon cites Nebrija (1492) and the treatises on music by Narvaez (1538) and F. de Salinas (1577).

As appears from this, the eminent investigator saw that the metrical form of the romances as transmitted to us was the one chosen by the poets themselves in obedience to a prevailing literary ideal; unfortunately, however, he failed to see that for this very reason it was as final as the authentic form of all artistic work is,¹⁸⁶ and that consequently he had no right to modify it. A more careful study of the evidence available since the time of Wolf might have made this clear to him.

It is true that Nebrija¹⁸⁷ gives us, in the form of long lines, passages from two romances, and defines this metre as follows: "El tetrametro yámbico que llaman los latinos octonario é nuestros poetas pié de romance, tiene regularmente diez é seis silabas: é llamaronlo tetrametro, porque tiene quatro assientos; octonario, porque tiene ocho pies, como en este romance antiguo," etc. It is evident, however, from his very terminology that Nebrija was interested in scholastic tradition quite as much as in the actual facts in the case. His theoretical preoccupation becomes still more apparent from the passage where, after speaking of the verse of eight syllables with its *pié quebrado*, of the verses of twelve and sixteen syllables, he says: "Estos quatro generos de versos llamanse *iambicos* porque en el latin en los lugares pares donde se hazen los assientos principales: por fuerza han de tener el pie que llamamos *iambo*. Y porque nosotros no tenemos silabas luengas e breves: en lugar de los iambos pusimos spondeos." Instructive as Nebrija's

¹⁸⁴ *Antol.* II, pp. 91-92.

¹⁸⁵ *Poesía heroica*, p. 401, and note 2. In his *Compendio del Arte poética* (Barcelona, 1843), pp. 49-52, however, Milá regarded the separate octosyllable with assonance in the even lines as the regular form of the romance, not mentioning the verse of sixteen syllables at all.

¹⁸⁶ The failure to see this is all the more remarkable as this same school of critics bases its theory of the original irregularity of the epic metre of Castile upon no better ground than the admittedly disordered text of the *Poem of the Cid* which has no other warrant than the late and unique copy of Per Abbat. See I, pp. 1-30.

¹⁸⁷ *Gramática castellana*, l. 2, cap. VIII. Cf. also cap X. The first passage is copied in Wolf's *Studien*, p. 448. Nebrija's whole work is now accessible in the excellent fac-simile edition by E. Walberg, Halle, 1909.

doctrine is in many respects, it is no more sufficient to counterbalance the almost unanimous testimony of the literary record of his time than it is to show that the national metre of Spain was iambic instead of trochaic.¹⁸⁸ No better is the authority of Salinas on this point.¹⁸⁹ In the seventh book of his treatise *De Musica* this writer discusses the manner in which the two parts of a tetrameter can be equalized, but he nowhere says anything permitting the inference that in his judgment the metrical form of the romances was the long line as such, instead of the transmitted division of it into two short verses. On the contrary, the fact that the initial lines of three romances cited by him appear in octosyllables,¹⁹⁰ indicates clearly that he recognized this as the normal form of the poetical type in question. Menéndez y Pelayo entirely overlooked the more explicit opinion expressed upon our subject by two contemporaries of Nebrija, the much-cited Santillana and Juan del Encina.¹⁹¹ After speaking, in his *Prohemio*,¹⁹² of the foreign metres and strophic forms employed by the Catalans and Valencians on the one hand, and the Castilians on the other, the Spanish Maecenas informs us that "esta arte que mayor se llama, e el arte comun" had been cultivated in Galicia and Portugal earlier than in any other part of Spain, so much so that until not long ago all *trobadores* of Castile, Andalusia and Estremadura had composed their work in the Galician or Portuguese language. From this we see that Santillana, who admits not having read any compositions of the Portuguese school himself, knew of only two native metres, the *verso de arte mayor* and the *verso de arte comun* or octosyllable. Still more direct is the utterance of Encina. In the fifth chapter of his *Arte de trobar* he says: "Hay en nuestro vulgar

¹⁸⁸ Considering the position taken by Menéndez y Pelayo, one does not understand why (*Antol.* 9, p. 257) he changed the initial long verses of the Lancelotballad as cited by Nebrija to hemistichs, nor why (*l. c.*, 12, p. 356) he said: "De estos cantares [carolingios], que sólo podemos apreciar ya en su forma definitiva de hemistiquios octonarios, pero que pasarían, sin duda, por un período de irregularidad ó incertidumbre métrica, . . . conservó la memoria popular los episodios más interesantes."

¹⁸⁹ The work of Luis de Narvaez has not been accessible to the present writer thus far.

¹⁹⁰ So quoted by Menéndez y Pelayo himself (*Antol.* 9, p. 258).

¹⁹¹ Both carefully consulted by Wolf, *l. c.*, pp. 151, 193, 412-413, 452-453, 696.

¹⁹² § XIV.

castellano dos géneros de versos ó coplas. El uno quando el pie consta de ocho sillabas ó su equivalencia que se llama arte real.¹⁹³ El otro quando se compone de doze ó su equivalencia que se llama arte mayor." This positive statement with regard to the metres in actual use in the fifteenth century is confirmed by one shortly to be cited concerning the strophic form of the romances. It is in entire accord with the opinion of Alonso Lopez Pinciano, the deliberate partisan of classicism, who in his *Philosophia antiqua poetica*, composed a hundred years after Encina's treatise, enumerates¹⁹⁴ as the four old Castilian metres the verses of four, six, eight and twelve syllables, and observes¹⁹⁵ with reference to the last named "a estas (*sc.* doze sylabas) diria yo verso, ó metro heroyco de mejor gana, y con mas justa razon que no al Italiano endecasylabo suelto, que se ha alçado con nombre de verso heroyco." If the line of sixteen syllables had been the regular metre of the romances, why should both Encina and Alonso Lopez have failed to take account of it? To cite one more witness, Juan de la Cueva, the contemporary of Alonso Lopez, mentions in his versified treatise on dramatic art¹⁹⁶ "el trocaico verso que es el nuestro" as the measure of the *coplas redondillas* and the romances.¹⁹⁷ As is well known, the historical romance, and notably its metrical structure, became one of the most important formative elements of the Spanish *comedia*.¹⁹⁸ Had the long verse of sixteen syllables as such been its essential form, it would certainly have to be explained why it never appears in the drama, especially in plays of tragic character, instead of the signally inappropriate short verse with alternate assonance.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹³ As is well known, the terms *arte comun* and *arte real* both designate the *verso de redondilla mayor* or octosyllable.

¹⁹⁴ *Epistola*, VII, p. 283 (ed. of 1596).

¹⁹⁵ *L. c.*, p. 286.

¹⁹⁶ See E. Walberg's excellent edition: *Juan de la Cueva et son "Exemplar poético,"* in vol. 39 of *Acta Universitatis Lundensis*, 1904.

¹⁹⁷ *L. c.*, *Epistola*, II, ll. 40-150.

¹⁹⁸ Cf., among others, Menéndez Pidal, *Épopée*, p. 215: "Tandis que les anciennes comédies, alors même qu'elles imitaient les romances, en faisaient disparaître la gracieuse fraîcheur en les délayant . . . , Lope, qui en a enrichi considérablement la métrique dramatique, a usé largement du vers de romance."

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Morel-Fatio, *La comédie espagnole du XVII^e siècle*, Paris, 1885, p. 27: "L'emploi d'une versification plus lyrique que dramatique et qu'on ne doit pas hésiter à qualifier de puérile."

It was seen above that Menéndez y Pelayo ascribed the so-called substitution of two hemistichs for the full tetrameter line in the romances to the influence of lyric poetry. By this lyric factor he doubtless meant the Castilian court-lyric flourishing from 1350 to 1500, the period in which the disciples of Milá place the rise of the romance type out of the degenerate large epic. Is this explanation sufficient? It accounts neither for the form of the *Poema de Alfonso Onceno* composed in the days when the Castilian court still listened to the accords of the Portuguese lyre,²⁰⁰ nor for the structure of the one hundred and eighty miracle-lays of Alphonse X whose controlling principle is the octosyllable with alternate rhyme. The two points wherein these spiritual ballads deviate from the romance-type as commonly understood are the employment of rhyme instead of assonance and the variation of rhyme from stanza to stanza. These differences may have been due respectively to the influence of hymnal poetry²⁰¹ and to the tradition of the single-rhymed tetrastich or *tirade* with varying rhyme or assonance which we find in mediaeval Latin poetry²⁰² and in the secular verse of popular origin cultivated by the Gallego-Portuguese lyrists.²⁰³ The refrain which characterizes the religious lays attributed to Alphonse X and the *cantares* of identical structure composed by Castilian and Portuguese *trobadores*²⁰⁴ testifies to their being based upon a traditional model of lyrico-epic song, it having been abundantly proved by literary and ethnological research that the refrain is an organic element of ballad-poetry, representing, as Gummere observes,²⁰⁵ the original choral song of the community. In their use of short lines with alternate rhyme or assonance, Alphonse X and other poets of his day likewise obeyed an ancient tradition. As Du Ménil²⁰⁶

²⁰⁰ See I, p. 21, notes 67 and 68.

²⁰¹ Cf. Wolf, *l. c.*, p. 437.

²⁰² Cf. Diez, *Altrom. Sprachdenkmale*, pp. 86-89.

²⁰³ Examples of this class are, e. g., *Canc. Vat.*, nos. 321, 414.

²⁰⁴ E. g., *Canc. Vat.*, nos. 230, 234, 258, 300, 352, 417, 724, 730, 738, 785, 892, 897, 1055, 1151; *Canc. Colocci-Brancuti*, nos. 276, 431.

²⁰⁵ *Beginnings of Poetry*, p. 314. Cf. also the same author's work, *The Popular Ballad*, 1907, pp. 36 f., 76 f., 133 f., and G. L. Kittredge, *English and Scotch Ballads*, Boston and New York, 1904, p. xxi.

²⁰⁶ *Poésies pop. lat. antérieures au XII^{me} siècle*, Paris, 1843, pp. 132-133, citing Beda, *De arte metrica*, col. 41. Cf. W. Meyer aus Speyer, *Gesammelte Schriften*, I, pp. 204, 213-214, 240, etc.

pointed out in 1843, and Wolf, among others, repeated,²⁰⁷ the metrists of the eighth century spoke of the trochaic tetrameter as though it consisted of two independent verses. From every point of view, then, it is apparent that the above-mentioned sacred and secular poems of the thirteenth century were cast in the mould of a pre-existent popular form to which our romance-type must have been closely related. So long as their verse-structure as handed down in the extant manuscripts²⁰⁸ is not conclusively shown to be unauthentic, it must be accepted as authoritative for the metrical tradition of the time,²⁰⁹ and as in itself a sufficient proof that the verse-form in which the romances have reached us is the correct and original one.²¹⁰

But there is more. In a paragraph duly considered by Wolf,²¹¹ but disregarded by Menéndez y Pelayo²¹² and those who follow him, Juan de la Encina²¹³ gives us valuable information respecting the musical division of the romances: "Y aun los romances suelen yr de quatro en quatro pies: aunque no van en consonante sino el segundo y el quatro pie, y aun los del tiempo viejo no van verdaderos consonantes, y todas estas cosas suelen ser de arte real, que el arte mayor es mas propia para cosas graves y arduas." From this statement which, as Baist observes,²¹⁴ is in entire accord with the melodies of the *Cancionero Musical*, we learn that not only the romances of the sixteenth century, but also those preceding the days of Encina were sung in *cuartetos* of octosyllables with alternate rhyme or assonance. Here again the metrical tradition of Encina is in consonance with that of Alphonse X. In the repeatedly cited miracle-lays ascribed to this poet, the same kind of quatrain appears both singly, in the function of refrain, and jointly with another, as

²⁰⁷ *L. c.*, p. 429. Cf. Jeanroy, *Origines*, pp. 347-349, 377.

²⁰⁸ See for these, and for editions of their contents, *Grundriss f. rom. Philol.*, II, 2, pp. 184-185, note 6.

²⁰⁹ This was done by so circumspect a critic as A. Mussafia in his study on Old Portuguese metrics in *Denksch. d. Kais. Akad. d. Wissensch., Hist.-Phil. Kl.*, vol. 133 (Wien, 1905), p. 20 f. of reprint.

²¹⁰ It need hardly be said that this is not to mean that the long verse as such was never employed in any but large epic poems.

²¹¹ *Primavera y Flor*, I, p. xviii; *Studien*, pp. 452-453.

²¹² As he translated Wolf's Introduction to the *Primavera* in his *Antología*, 8, pp. xiii-lxxxvi, it must have been known to him.

²¹³ *L. c.*, cap. 7.

²¹⁴ *Grundriss f. rom. Philol.*, II, 2, p. 432.

part of the strophe of eight octosyllables. The refrain of No. 221 may serve as illustration for the present :

Ben per está aos reis
d'amaren Santa Maria,
ca en as mui grandes coitas
ela os acorr' aginna.²¹⁵

In the stanza of eight short verses, this quatrain is treated with the freedom characteristic of the literary writer. Not to mention the occurrence of two blank octosyllables in succession,²¹⁶ and of synaloephe between two hemistichs, pointing to the practice of forming long lines,²¹⁷ we meet with half-lines separated by a pause longer than the one regularly occurring between the second and third verse of the tetrastich,²¹⁸ and also with syntactical overlapping from the fourth to the fifth verse of the octave.²¹⁹ Such cases of conflict between the grammatical and the musical division of the strophe are examples of the subordination of the former to the poet's thought, a phenomenon which may be noticed anywhere in literary verse. Even if they were far more numerous than they actually are, there would be no warrant for the inference that the stanza of four lines existed in music before it did in versification.²²⁰ As well might one argue that the infractions of the syntactical unity of the hemistichs of the decasyllable in the *Chanson de Roland*²²¹ prove that this unity was only just forming. Hanssen²²² is there-

²¹⁵ Variant: *e guía* for *aginna*. Other refrains of the same structure are found, e. g., in nos. 13, 15, 33-35, 43, 45, 189.

²¹⁶ E. g., no. 151. Cf. Mussafia, *l. c.*, pp. 14-16, and the note on p. 14.

²¹⁷ E. g., no. 224. Cf. Mussafia, *l. c.*, pp. 16-17, 23, 32-33.

²¹⁸ E. g., no. 6, st. 7, ll. 5-6; st. 11, ll. 5-6.

²¹⁹ E. g., no. 6, st. 1, 10, 11.

²²⁰ Thus Hanssen (*Notas*, p. 31), without any basis in fact, asserts: "Las estrofas de cuatro versos existieron en la música antes de aparecer en la versificación [de los romances]."

²²¹ See Reissert, *Die syntakt. Behandlung des Zehnsilbigen Verses im Alexius- und Rolandsliede*, Marburg, 1884; and Stengel, *Grundriss f. rom. Philol.*, II, 1, pp. 52-54. Cf. similar instances of enjambement cited by the writer in *Liederbuch des Königs Denis*, pp. cxxiii-cxxiv.

²²² *L. c.*: "A pesar de que [los antiguos romances] se cantaban por cuartetos, no fué necesario que el número de los versos fuese divisible por cuatro. Tampoco fué necesario que coincidiesen los incisos gramaticales con los musicales. . . . Esta contradicción se explica precisamente por el origen de los romances. Se cantaron las series monorrimas de las Jestas, que no conocían ninguna subdivisión, con melodías de procedencia agena."

fore entirely wrong in regarding similar instances of conflict observed by him in the old romances as a result of the alleged origin of this poetic type from large epics. Apart from the fact that no such sweeping conclusion can properly be drawn from comparatively infrequent irregularities²²³ naturally explained by the literary character of our extant romances, we must consider that the metrical structure of the quatrain under discussion is much older and more widely diffused than Hanssen and others suppose. As we have seen, it was known in the thirteenth century. Though not so prominent in the verse of that period as the distich, to which it is genetically related, it must have been firmly established in poetical tradition, as is shown by its frequent use as refrain by Alphonse X, and also by its survival as the typical form of the popular lyric of Spain and Portugal of to-day.

As a rule, the first two octosyllables of the modern quatrain are still divided from the last two by a pause, the first distich containing a nature-image, the second an antithetical soul-image. Thus in the following *requiebro*:

En un canasto de flores
se enseñorea una rosa;
y entre todas las mujeres
eres tú la más hermosa.²²⁴

or in the taunt of a Portuguese lover:

Candeia que não dá luz,
não se espeta na parede;
o amor que não é firme,
não se faz cabedal d'elle.²²⁵

Even the images contrasted in the last example find their parallel in a pantun of the Malay race, in whose love-poetry the quatrain is also common:

Apa guna pasang pâlita
Jika tiayda dângân sumbuña;

²²³ Cf. Baist, *l. c.*, II, 2, p. 432.

²²⁴ F. Rodríguez Marín, *Cantos pop. esp.*, Sevilla, 1882-1883, 2, no. 1191.

²²⁵ Collected from the tradition of the Azores.

Apa guna barmayin
Kalu tiyada dangân sungña.²²⁶

Important as are the history and distribution of the various forms of this lyric type, we cannot go any further into its discussion here. Suffice it to mention briefly the Germanic *schnadahüpfel*²²⁷ which accords with the Hispanic *copla* and *quadra* both as to metrical structure and antithesis of thought; the ancient Chinese tetrastich,²²⁸ agreeing more especially with regard to the second point; the quatrains of Italy²²⁹ and Greece,²³⁰ conforming with respect to the first; and the stanzas of the Indian collection known as the *Saptaçatakam* dating from the seventh century of our era.²³¹ For details the reader may be referred to the excellent studies on this subject by G. Meyer²³² and F. B. Gummere.²³³ There are those who would see in the *schnadahüpfel* the result of the dissolution of continuous polystrophic poems into independent quatrains. As in the case of the romances, this theory not only lacks the support of sufficient evidence, but may, with G. Meyer,²³⁴ be definitely rejected from the comparative point of view. Equally untenable is the position of those who trace the similarity of forms occurring in many countries to the borrowing of one people from another instead of accepting the doctrine established by modern scientific research that such similarity is as a rule due to spontaneous and independent creation in divers races having similar habits of thought.

The quatrain, then, is one of the oldest, and most common poetic

²²⁶ "What is the use of lighting a lamp,
If it be without a wick?
What is the use of playing with the eyes
If you be not in earnest?"

See J. Crawford, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Malay Language*, I, p. 84. For further examples, see e. g., the same author's *History of the Indian Archipelago*, Edinburgh, 1820, 2, pp. 48-49.

²²⁷ See G. Meyer, *Essays u. Studien*, pp. 317-331.

²²⁸ See J. Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, London, 1871, vol. iv, Pt. 1, Bk. i, odes 6, 7, 9; Bk. ii, 9, 13; iii, 7, 8, 12; iv, 5, 7; v, 7, 9; vi, 16; viii, 7; x, 11; xv, 5 (including only instances of parallelism between nature and soul-image).

²²⁹ See Nigra, *Canti popolari del Piemonte*, pp. xxi-xxii.

²³⁰ See G. Meyer, *l. c.*, p. 368.

²³¹ See A. Weber, *Saptaçatakam*, Leipzig, 1881; G. Meyer, *l. c.*, pp. 289-308.

²³² *L. c.*, pp. 332-376.

²³³ *Beginnings of Poetry*, pp. 200, 213, 403-419.

²³⁴ *L. c.*, pp. 365, 375. Cf. Gummere, *l. c.*, pp. 403-404, 414-418.

types of popular origin. It is doubtless from it that various literary stanzas, such as the single-rhyme tetrastich of mediaeval Latin, and French and Spanish poetry,²³⁵ are derived. As an essential element of the above-mentioned spiritual lays of Alphonse X and of our romances, this ancient strophic form proves by itself that the normal metre of the romance was no other than the *verso de redondilla mayor* with alternate assonance or rhyme,²³⁶ and argues forcibly against the theory that the romances as a distinct poetic type are remnants of large poems composed in the verse of sixteen syllables.

We may safely affirm, therefore,²³⁷ that outside of what we actually have of the genuine epic of Castile, such as the Poem of the Cid, the full tetrameter line was not used as the regular metre of any class of Spanish poetry. This is particularly significant in view of the fact that assonance maintained itself in the romances written in the epoch of Santillana as a characteristic feature, resisting the strong influence of the contemporary court-lyric²³⁸ with a power which it could only have obtained from the old and vigorous tradition of lyric and narrative song in the Northwestern and Central part of the Peninsula.²³⁹ Now, few will contend that the verse of sixteen syllables would have disappeared as early and completely as it did, without hardly a flicker of it even in the more elaborate Carolingian romances, which were probably the first to be recorded in writing, if its use had been rooted in such abundant practice as would be implied in the creation of a considerable number of large epics extending from 1000 to 1450.²⁴⁰ The natural conclusion from

²³⁵ Cf. Diez, *Altromanische Sprachdenkmale*, p. 86 ff.; Wolf, *l. c.*, p. 431 ff.; Du Ménil, *Poésies popul. lat. antérieures au XII^e siècle*, pp. 186-187. Cf. also G. Paris, *Romania*, 13, pp. 617-620.

²³⁶ Cf. Baist, *l. c.*, p. 431: "*Romance* bezeichnet ein volkstümliches, meist erzählendes Gedicht in Tiradenform, im Masse der *redondilla mayor*, die geraden Verse assonierend oder reimend, die ungeraden blank."

²³⁷ See above, pp. 324-325.

²³⁸ Cf. Baist, *l. c.*, p. 431: "In der Romanze ist sie (i. e., die Assonanz) das entschieden ursprüngliche; es musste ein starkes Gegengewicht vorhanden sein, um in der Nachahmung der Kuntsdichter schliesslich statt des Reimes diese theoretisch niedrige, ja unverständliche Form durchzusetzen."

²³⁹ See I, pp. 18-23.

²⁴⁰ See Menéndez Pidal, *Leyenda*, pp. 37-40; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* 10, 59: "En tiempo de D. Sancho III la epopeya castellana estaba ya formada, y seguramente existían cantares de Bernardo," etc., a statement which is not even in accord with Milá y Fontanals' opinion (*Poesía heroica*, pp. 163-167, 400).

this is either that Castile produced very much less than the sixteen or more extensive works assumed by Menéndez y Pelayo and others,²⁴¹ or else that these were written in an altogether different metre.

The second alternative, which renders the hypothesis of the derivation of the metrical form of the romances from that of the epics even more absurd than it already is, but to which the Spanish critics nevertheless adhere, was disproved above;²⁴² we must consequently accept the first alternative, and this all the more so as it is confirmed by several other considerations. In the first place we have, as a matter of fact, apart from the Poem of the Cid, only partially restored fragments of one other genuine popular epic, the one on the Infantes de Lara,²⁴³ and it should be clearly borne in mind that the existence of the other sixteen or more conjectured poems has not so far been demonstrated in any way whatsoever. Without such proof, however, it is manifestly contrary to all scientific principles to use them as the basis of a theory of epic origins. In the second place, the production of some of these poems must, as has already been said,²⁴⁴ be regarded as entirely out of the question for the reason that heroic tradition requires for its preservation almost immediate fixation in poetic form, that this particular form can no more be that of a large epic than the growth of an oak begins from the top instead of from the root,²⁴⁵ and that such an epic, even though not nearly so long as the *Chanson de Roland*, presupposes a degree of artistic advance entirely incompatible with the political and social conditions of Castile in the period of such personages as King Rodrigo, Bernardo del Carpio and the Infante D. Garcia. In his judicious remarks on this point,²⁴⁶ Morel-Fatio

²⁴¹ See above, p. 326.

²⁴² See I, and above, pp. 295-300.

²⁴³ See I, pp. 8-9.

²⁴⁴ See above, pp. 305-311.

²⁴⁵ It is true that, as G. Paris observes (*Romania*, 13, p. 617), "once a large epic has been composed, it is natural that other poems of the same character should be produced as such when they are adaptations to a new hero of themes furnished by the anterior epopee"; but such cases do not affect the question before us.

²⁴⁶ *Romania*, 26, p. 312, in a review of Menéndez Pidal's *Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*. Cf. also the excellent observations of the late Rudolf Beer, *Zur Ueberlieferung altspanischer Literaturdenkmäler*, Wien, 1898, pp. 28-35.

compares the scanty literary output of Spain in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with the wealth of productions of every kind offered in contemporary France, Italy, Germany and England, and concludes that "in the domain of the national epic as well, there could hardly have arisen many talents capable of writing large songs, and of treating in appropriate style in the manner of the French *jongleurs* subjects borrowed from tradition." From this argument, some may be inclined to appeal to an opinion expressed by G. Paris: "L'épopée castillane a dû être, dès l'origine, l'oeuvre de poètes de profession, de *juglares*, qui imitaient les chansons françaises en les appliquant aux événements historiques de leur patrie."²⁴⁷ But unquestionable as is the influence of the French epic upon the growth of the Castilian, it could not have called forth long narratives in Castile before such had arisen in France itself, nor could it have led to their creation in Castilian without a foregoing preparation of the epic form and style of this language for a higher art through the medium of shorter lays improvised under the immediate impression of the events.²⁴⁸ In the third place, the composition of not less than ten of the supposed vanished epics, and recasts of them, is placed by the Spanish school of critics within the first literary epoch of Castile, from 1150-1450. As these works were not, like the romances, survivals from an age of poetic production unaided by writing, and must have been invested with no little of the artistic value attaching to the Poem of the Cid, why have all of them so completely disappeared as not to leave any demonstrable trace behind them, or to have their existence testified to by an unequivocal reference in some contemporary or later document?²⁴⁹ The explanation which Menéndez y Pelayo²⁵⁰ and

²⁴⁷ *La Légende des Infants de Lara*, p. 19.

²⁴⁸ Cf. G. Paris, *Romania*, 13, pp. 602, 617-618. Compare with the sound views of this scholar the superficial theory of Milá y Fontanals, *Poesía heroica*, p. 409: "Creemos, sí, que . . . no se ha de buscar en breves canciones semi-líricas el origen de la epopeya, cuando tan á mano se tiene la explicación de origen en las naturales propensiones narrativas del hombre."

²⁴⁹ In his second sonnet (*Obras*, p. 272) Santillana touches upon the death of Sancho before Zamora, but in the rubric to this poem he does not even so much as hint at the existence of such an epic as the one on the *Cerco de Zamora* conjectured and described by Menéndez Pidal, *Épopée*, pp. 57-74. Cf. above, p. 315, note 103.

²⁵⁰ *Antol.* 11, pp. 41-44.

others²⁵¹ offer for this significant fact is that owing to their historical character, these poems were lost through absorption in, and replacement by, the chronicles. In reply to this it may be observed, first, that, as poetry, the Castilian epic, the same as that of other nations, gives us an idealized picture not of history, but of reality as conceived under the impression of the moment,²⁵² and that for this reason alone if for no other, it cannot be said to have had that exceptionally historical character which Spanish critics,²⁵³ in the face of the contradictory nature of their one extant example,²⁵⁴ ascribe to it; second, that both common sense and analogy justify the assumption that the use of written exemplars²⁵⁵ of large poems would naturally lead to their preservation, instead of bringing about their loss. It is well known²⁵⁶ that at the time of Solon the Homeric poems were taken as history, and their evidence cited in courts of arbitration as decisive for titles to land. Is there any one prepared to maintain that such service was calculated to consign them to oblivion? From what has been said it follows that the reason why Castile has so few large epics is not that the epics conjectured were all lost, but that for the most part they never existed; and that it is not for the critic to accept, without specific and full proof

²⁵¹ See e. g., Menéndez Pidal, *Leyenda*, pp. 38-39, and after him Morf, *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1900, p. 393.

²⁵² Cf. e. g., C. M. de Vasconcellas, *Zeitsch. f. rom. Phil.*, 16, p. 82.

²⁵³ See Menéndez Pidal, *Leyenda*, pp. 38-39; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* 11, p. 78; 12, p. 37.

²⁵⁴ The historical character of the *Poem of the Cid* is admitted, e. g., by Menéndez y Pelayo, *l. c.*, pp. 311-314; Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de Mio Cid*, pp. 68-73 and 129. To this instance may be added the *Rodrigo*, which the Spanish school counts as an epic, but of which Milá, *Poesía heroica*, p. 255, says: "El Rodrigo es en muchos puntos, á más de no histórico, antihistórico." Similar judgment is passed by Menéndez Pidal, *Homenaje*, 1, pp. 456-467, and Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* 2, pp. xxiv-xxvi; 12, pp. 337-338.

²⁵⁵ Menéndez y Pelayo, *l. c.*, p. 42, says: "La causa principal y más obvia de la pérdida de casi todos nuestros *cantares de gesta* fué que la mayor parte de ellos no llegaron á escribirse." In that case, how could the compilers of the Chronicles make that use of them to which he constantly appeals, and upon which the hypothesis of the derivation of the romances from large epics depends for all of its support? As for the statement made on the same page that the Homeric poems were entirely preserved by oral transmission, it certainly needs no refutation.

²⁵⁶ See Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, I, 15; Strabo, *Rerum Geograph.*, 1. ix, § 5.

in each case, the poetical coloring of chronicle-accounts as the basis for the assumption of extensive poems.²⁵⁷

That Castile nevertheless had some heroic songs of higher flight which are now missing is the logical inference from the progress in the art of composition involved in the creation of so large and fine a work as the Poem of the Cid only forty years after the death of its hero. To say nothing of one or more recasts of this poem²⁵⁸ which do not directly concern us here, we may assume the existence of a few smaller epics, though the evidence at hand admits of little more than an estimate of probability. The *mester de clerecía* on Fernan Gonzalez who, as we have seen,²⁵⁹ was singled out by Santillana for mention with the Cid, bears traces of a substratum of popular character which may have consisted in a more or less developed poem;²⁶⁰ and the material collected by Menéndez Pidal²⁶¹ establishes a presumption in favor of the creation, toward the end of the eleventh century, of a similar song on the Infantes de Lara. In addition to these poems, which were presumably of about the length of the separate *cantares* into which the Poem of the Cid is divided, it is reasonable to infer a considerable number of lays of the extent of the Carolingian romances²⁶² which prepared the way for the nobler art. It is such compositions as these, the growth

²⁵⁷ It is without such warrant that Menéndez Pidal, subscribing implicitly to the purely a priori considerations of Milá y Fontanals (*Poesía heroica*, pp. 196, 198, 200, 396, etc.), asserts (*Leyenda*, p. 37): "La crítica nos dice que existieron largos cantares sobre Bernardo del Carpio, Mainete, Don Fernando I, Don Sancho el de Zamora, y aun acerca de los Condes Garcia Fernández, Don Sancho y el Infante Don Garcia, ó de Alvar Fãnez Minaya y otros personajes, y sin embargo, no se conserva ni una sola copia de esos antiguos monumentos poéticos."

²⁵⁸ See I, pp. 26-27; and Coester, *Revue Hispanique*, 15, pp. 104-111.

²⁵⁹ See above, p. 315, note 103.

²⁶⁰ See I, pp. 15-16; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, p. 225; Menéndez Pidal, *Épopée*, p. 44.

²⁶¹ See I, pp. 8-9, and note 19.

²⁶² It is characteristic of Milá's method that while he persistently derives the romances from disintegrated large epics, he nevertheless declares (*Observaciones*, p. 56): "Para precisar el sentido de estas conjeturas, añadiremos que, *salvo la extensión, no había diferencia alguna entre los cantares de gesta y los romances*, y valiéndonos de las palabras de una autoridad que respetamos sobre manera, que no es cierto que en el poema del Cid se hallan romances, sino que es una serie de romances, ó si se quiere, un largo romance"; and *l. c.*, p. 55: "Si, según parece más natural, los largos cantares de gesta se fundaron sobre poesías más cortas, estas quedaron absorbidas por los mismos."

of which was doubtless stimulated by the example of the French minstrels who visited Northwestern Spain from the beginning of the tenth century, that employed the verse of sixteen syllables and perfected the poetic technique and style which characterize the Poem of the Cid.²⁶³ They were not sufficient, however, to establish the double octosyllable firmly in the metrical practice of the time, and as no new subjects were added to the heroic tradition of Spain after the middle of the twelfth century,²⁶⁴ this verse ceased to be used. This circumstance may have been one of the reasons why the primitive form of our Poem was so soon subjected to an attempt at revision in accordance with French models.²⁶⁵

Resuming now the presentation of specific evidence in favor of the opinion²⁶⁶ that by the composition of "estos romances é cantares" Santillana had in mind the literary redaction of survivals of a traditional and independent type of folksong, let us turn to the romance itself.

It would be a most engaging and useful task to study the history of this form in the light of the themes it has in common with the oral and inscribed literature of other nations. As this is not the place for entering into a detailed investigation of this subject, we content ourselves with calling attention to the fact that recent research in this direction, embodied in two articles published by Pio Rajna, one on *Rosaflorida*,²⁶⁷ the other on the history of the Spanish ballad,²⁶⁸ have led the distinguished Italian critic to entertain serious doubts as to the soundness of what is termed Milá's theory of the origin of our type, a theory to which at one time he also subscribed without question.²⁶⁹ More direct is the testimony of those ballads which lie outside of the comprehensive heroic or legendary cycles, and are commonly known as *romances sueltos*. Of these, and of the border-ballads, Menéndez y Pelayo²⁷⁰ says: "Nunca han tenido

²⁶³ Cf. I, p. 23.

²⁶⁴ Cf. Milá, *Poesía heroica*, p. 400; Menéndez Pidal, *Leyenda*, p. 41. We must except, of course, such matters as those of the *romances fronterizos*.

²⁶⁵ Cf. I, pp. 28-29.

²⁶⁶ See above, pp. 315-325.

²⁶⁷ See above, p. 318, note 120.

²⁶⁸ *Osservazioni e dubbi concernenti la storia delle romanze spagnuole*, in ROMANIC REVIEW, Vol. 6.

²⁶⁹ See *Origini dell' epopea francese*, p. 478.

²⁷⁰ *Antol.* II, p. 46. See also II, pp. 78, 112.

otra forma que la de canciones breves y enteramente desligadas; y bien puede afirmarse que ninguno de ellos es anterior al siglo XV, no sólo en cuanto á su estado actual, sino en cuanto á su composición primitiva." As usual, no proof is given. We are nowhere told why the original form of these poems should have been so different from that of the so-called historical ballads which the Spanish critic derives from detached *laisses* of moribund epics, nor why none of them could have originated prior to the fifteenth century. As we shall presently see, the latter assertion is in contradiction with obvious facts partly admitted by himself. According to the chronicler Fray Francisco Sota,²⁷¹ the Asturian count Rodrigo Gonzalez, a rebellious vassal of Alphonse VII,²⁷² was the subject of a romance sung in the choral dances of Asturias in the seventeenth century. Are we to concur with Menéndez y Pelayo²⁷³ in the assumption that the composition of this lay, celebrating events of the first half of the twelfth century, belongs to a much later period and was based upon oral transmission of anecdotes dealing with this matter? To say nothing of the highly improbable supposition that genuine folksong may be a belated offspring of prose-narrative, we must remember that as a rule heroic tradition depends for its preservation upon its being cast immediately into a poetic mould,²⁷⁴ and that a personage of rather local fame, such as Rodrigo Gonzalez, does not inspire the popular muse centuries after his death in a far distant land. We shall therefore be on safer ground if we say that the Asturian romances known to Sota were survivals of lays sung in the very days of the hero. This view is fully borne out by the analogy of the border-ballads or *romances fronterizos*. That these were, as a class, brought forth under the immediate impression of the deeds commemorated, is beyond any reasonable doubt,²⁷⁵ and is admitted even by those who seek the source of songs of prac-

²⁷¹ See above, p. 302, note 46.

²⁷² See *Antol.* 12, pp. 33-46.

²⁷³ *L. c.*, pp. 43-44.

²⁷⁴ See pp. 306, 310, 338; and compare the careful observations of H. M. Chadwick in the *Heroic Age*, pp. 77-79.

²⁷⁵ Cf. e. g., Gummere, *The Popular Ballad*, pp. 56, 243. What we have said is of course not meant to deny that some of the border-ballads preserved in literary records were drawn from chronicles and similar sources. But no one with an inkling of what poetry is will confuse such cases with the origin of the type itself.

tically identical character, such as the so-called historical ballads, in degenerate large epics.²⁷⁶ Argote de Molina²⁷⁷ has transmitted to us a romance commemorating a siege of Baeza.²⁷⁸ If, as now seems fairly well established,²⁷⁹ the siege in question was the earlier one of 1368, we may regard this ballad not only as one of the oldest datable examples of its class,²⁸⁰ but also as a proof that the border-ballad had become recognized as an artistic form not later than the middle of the fourteenth century. In this view both Menéndez y Pelayo and Menéndez Pidal practically concur,²⁸¹ the former in contradiction to an assertion of his cited above.²⁸² But contrary to what would seem to be the natural inference from it, these scholars maintain that the border-ballad as a type did not exist before. They fail to consider, here as elsewhere, that the first appearance of a poetic form in literary records does not mark the time of its true origin, but of its conscious use. While the romance on the siege of Baeza is one of the oldest ballads of this kind of which we now have a text, it is not, as Menéndez y Pelayo appears to think, the first of which we know.²⁸³ What indeed were the heroic deeds of Rodrigo Gonzalez himself if not those of a powerful feudal lord now defying his king, now wresting territory from the Moor?²⁸⁴ Such border-warfare constituted the very beginning of the reconquest of the Peninsula, and must have inspired heroic song quite as much then as in the closing period of the great struggle whose exploits and poetry owe their partial preservation from oblivion to a broader national feeling and a new literary interest.

In the course of our discussion we have had occasion²⁸⁵ to quote

²⁷⁶ Milá y Fontanals, *Poesía heroica*, pp. 323-324; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* 12, p. 167 ff.; Menéndez Pidal, *Épopée*, p. 170, and *Revista de libros*, vol. 2, 1914, p. 8.

²⁷⁷ *Nobleza de Andalucía*, Sevilla, 1588, fol. 237-238.

²⁷⁸ *Antol.* 9, p. 196.

²⁷⁹ See Menéndez y Pelayo, *l. c.*, 12, pp. 169-170; Menéndez Pidal, *Épopée*, p. 170, and *Revista de libros*, vol. 2 (1914), no. 7, pp. 8-9.

²⁸⁰ Another old *romance fronterizo*, dealing with a battle of 1424, may be preserved in a text reprinted *Antol.* 10, pp. 359-360.

²⁸¹ See the works referred to in note 279.

²⁸² See p. 42, note 270.

²⁸³ *Antol.* 12, p. 169.

²⁸⁴ *Antol.* 12, pp. 37-38.

²⁸⁵ See above, p. 321.

the passage in which Juan Alvarez Gato refers to the "romances de Don Bueso" as time-worn. As this allusion was doubtless written in the poet's youthful days,²⁸⁶ it can hardly date from later than 1455. What were these romances? Menéndez y Pelayo makes them the subject of several, partly conflicting conjectures. In his study of Alvarez Gato's poetry he remarks:²⁸⁷ "Alusión por cierto muy notable, y ya antes de ahora notada, que sirve para atestiguar la remota antigüedad de un tema de romances que no existe en las colecciones impresas, pero del cual perseveran vestigios en la tradición poética oral de Asturias y otras comarcas." Neither here nor elsewhere does the Spanish scholar, any more than his predecessor Milá y Fontanals,²⁸⁸ give any thought to the possible significance of Alvarez Gato's remark for the important question as to the age of our poetic type. The two Asturian lays with which he connects our "romances de Don Bueso"²⁸⁹ are in *versos de rondilla menor* and deal with Don Bueso's search for a wife and his recognition of his lost sister. They are therefore novelistic rather than heroic in character.²⁹⁰ Likewise novelistic are the other songs on D. Bueso which Menéndez y Pelayo cites in this connection,²⁹¹ the romance of D. Bozo in the Algarve,²⁹² of D. Beço in the Minho,²⁹³ and of Flor do Dia in Brazil.²⁹⁴ These ballads are concerned with the wide-spread legend of the cruel mother-in-law and have consequently nothing in common with the Asturian pieces except the name of the hero, which is secondary in all of them.²⁹⁵ As for the metre, only the versions of the Algarve and

²⁸⁶ Cf. *Antol.* 10, p. 59.

²⁸⁷ *Antol.* 6, p. xlv.

²⁸⁸ *Poesía heroica*, p. 169, note 2, and p. 418.

²⁸⁹ Printed by Juan Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía popular*, no. xv and xvi (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 295-298), and M. y P., *Antol.* 10, pp. 56-58.

²⁹⁰ For the recognition-scene cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *l. c.*, 10, pp. 58-61; 12, pp. 516-517.

²⁹¹ *L. c.*, 10, pp. 60-61, and *ibid.*, pp. 95-97, the Asturian piece, no. 32.

²⁹² Reis Damaso, *Tradições populares do Algarve*, Lisboa, 1882, p. 171.

²⁹³ Braga, *Romancero Geral Portuguez*, I (1906), pp. 562-563.

²⁹⁴ *Cantos populares do Brazil, colligidos por S. Romero*, Lisboa, 1883, I, pp. 25-27 (no. 14), II, pp. 182-183.

²⁹⁵ Cf. C. Michaelis in *Revista lusitana*, 2, p. 202. For the legend of the bad mother-in-law, see F. J. Child's account of the Testament formulae in *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, I, p. 183 f., and Schrader, *Die Schwiegermutter und der Hagestolz*, Braunschweig, 1904.

of Brazil are in *versos de redondilla menor*. That the use of this measure indicates lateness of origin is an opinion of Menéndez y Pelayo's for which proof is lacking. In addition to the two groups of romances mentioned, there is still another that deserves attention. In it we find a jealous woman seeking to poison her lover in revenge for his desertion, the name of the protagonist being D. Alonso in the versions of Asturias²⁹⁶ and Leon,²⁹⁷ D. Jorge in those of the Azores²⁹⁸ and of Brazil,²⁹⁹ and Don Bueso in the one of the Jews of Tangiers.³⁰⁰ Of the three cycles of romances cited as still living on the lips of men in the Peninsula, two at least, as we have seen, are also found in the colonies. From this fact, as well as from the antiquity and wide distribution of the elements of fiction they contain, it is reasonable to infer that they hark back to older forms current in the century of Columbus and based, in their turn, upon a still more primitive tradition.³⁰¹ It is not unlikely, therefore, that it was to one of these cycles that Alvarez Gato's "romances de Don Bueso" belonged. But it is far from certain. Our ignorance of the contents of the latter does not permit us to say that they had more in common with the lays of to-day than the name.³⁰² Besides, a Don Bueso figures in still another traditional theme which has not been considered in this connection. We have in mind the *cantares* to which the *General* repeatedly refers in its account of Bernardo del Carpio and Don Bueso, "un alto ome de Francia,"³⁰³ and which, as we saw above,³⁰⁴ could not have been

²⁹⁶ *Antol.* 10, pp. 98-99.

²⁹⁷ Menéndez Pidal, *Romancero*, p. 126.

²⁹⁸ *Antol.* 10, pp. 99-100.

²⁹⁹ Sylvio Romero, *Cantos pop. do Brazil*, I, nos. 19, 20, and II, pp. 196-199.

³⁰⁰ Menéndez Pidal, *l. c.*, pp. 126-127.

³⁰¹ The Comte de Puymaigre observes (*Revue des Études Juives*, 1896, vol. 33, p. 276): "On est indécis sur la date des romances: ils prouvent que les chants originaux qu'ils rappellent étaient connus au XV^e siècle et sans doute, bien antérieurement"; and Menéndez Pidal, *Cultura española*, 1906, p. 111, admits: "El caudal de cantos comunes con España y otros pueblos europeos nos mostrará una etapa de tradicion frecuentemente más arcaica y pura que la de la Península."

³⁰² *Antol.* 10, p. 59, Menéndez y Pelayo says himself: "No sabemos qué cosa serían unos romances de Don Bueso que pasaban ya por una antigualla en tiempo de Enrique IV."

³⁰³ See above, p. 308, and *General*, p. 380 a 11-15. Menéndez y Pelayo (*Antol.* 10, pp. 58-59) supposes a relation between the *cantares* of the *General* with the two Asturian ballads cited above, but not with those mentioned by Alvarez Gato.

³⁰⁴ See pp. 309-311, 338-339.

so many extensive poems, but must have been minor lays. In as much as the romances of Bernardo preserved to us recite only events subsequent to the alleged slaying of the French warrior by his Castilian adversary in 843,⁸⁰⁵ we may assume that others, celebrating this victory, existed, but are now lost. Milá y Fontanals⁸⁰⁶ expressed the opinion that the appearance of a Don Bueso in Spain was due to a pure invention, no such personage occurring in French poems outside of the *Girart de Rossilló*. With regard to this it must be noted, however, that the prominence of men in the *Girart* bearing a similar name⁸⁰⁷ and the striking resemblance of the names of some of them with those of the Castilian legend⁸⁰⁸ render it more likely that his name, if not already existing in Northern Spain, was obtained from France. And it must further be noted that the Châteauroux and Venice manuscripts representing the Roland-legend mention a Bos de Lions among the followers of Girart de Vienne,⁸⁰⁹ thus indicating a connection between personages of this name and the French poems dealing with the wars in the Peninsula. If, in addition to this, we consider that, as the chronicler Ambrosio de Morales informs us,⁸¹⁰ the name Bueso, Boyso was borne by a *merino* of Sancho III (1000-1035) and by other persons of the same period, there would seem to be fair ground for the conjecture, if for nothing more, that these forms were the Spanish correspondents of the French Bos, Booz, Boson, Bueson, and that the Don Bueso of the *General*, instead of being a comparatively late invention, had at least as much reality as Bernardo del Carpio himself, whose heroic legend, as Milá and Menéndez y Pelayo opine,⁸¹¹ "se formó, con apoyo del Bernardo de Ribagorza, por influencia, por remedo, y pudiéramos decir por emulación de los cantares franceses." Being thus originally attached to a heroic figure of the Northern part of the Peninsula, the name Don Bueso

⁸⁰⁵ See *General*, p. 371 a 8-36.

⁸⁰⁶ *Poesía heroica*, p. 169.

⁸⁰⁷ See in Langlois, *Table des noms propres dans les chansons de geste*, Paris, 1904, p. 106, the forms Booz, Boz, Boson, Bozon, Bouzon.

⁸⁰⁸ See *l. c.*, Booz d'Escorpion, Boson d'Escorpion.

⁸⁰⁹ See *Altfranzösische Bibliothek, herausgeg. von W. Foerster*, VI, p. 324.

⁸¹⁰ *Crónica general de España*, l. 13, cap. 49. The inferences drawn from this circumstance by Milá and Menéndez y Pelayo are not to the point.

⁸¹¹ *Poesía heroica*, p. 160; *Antol.* 11, p. 202.

may, as Carolina Michaelis suggests,⁸¹² have come, like that of Pelayo, to designate the sturdy and rude Asturian *infante* or noble, the natural hero of chivalresque adventure, and later, with the ascendancy of Castile over the mountain-kingdoms, have assumed the sense of depreciation and burlesque.⁸¹³ It is thus that we may account for the appearance of a Don Bueso as the enemy of Bernardo del Carpio; again, as the hero of ballad-cycles known to the oral tradition of today, where he mostly figures in the rôle of king or son of kings; and still again as the subject of burlesque poems recorded from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries.⁸¹⁴

Now, whichever of these groups of lays may contain the solution of the literary enigma presented by Alvarez Gato, it is clear that any one of them argues forcibly for the antiquity not only of a given theme of romances, as Menéndez y Pelayo chose to say, but of the poetic type itself. If it is admitted, as it must be, that the songs living in the oral memory of the Hispanic world of to-day are in the main the descendants of those imitated in the age of Santillana;⁸¹⁵ if Menéndez y Pelayo was right, as he doubtless was, in subscribing⁸¹⁶ to the conclusion of Carolina Michaelis⁸¹⁷ that the romance "Helo, helo, por do viene" is a survival of a lay or trio of lays handed down on the lips of men from a period considerably anterior to the fourteenth century, and consequently has no explanation within Milá's theory of epic origins; if there is any value in Menéndez Pidal's suggestion⁸¹⁸ "that the legend of King Rodrigo comes in large part from poems contemporary with the

⁸¹² *Revista lusit.*, 2, p. 202.

⁸¹³ In a *respuesta* of the *Cancionero de Baena*, no. 434 (= ed. Michel, II, p. 129), Juan Alfonso de Baena is addressed as follows:

E a carcel perpetua, so mi cerradura,
Sereys condenado, syn dubda, Don Bueso.

⁸¹⁴ See Duran, *Romancero general*, nos. 1710, 1719. According to Milá, *l. c.*, p. 169, note 2, a personage mentioned in a burlesque romance contained in the *Cancionero de Ixar* (see Gallardo, *Ensayo*, no. 487, col. 588) bears the pseudonym Don Bueso.

⁸¹⁵ See e. g., Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* 10, p. 7 f.; 11, pp. 172, 212, 363 f.; Menéndez Pidal, *Homenaje*, 1, pp. 462-466; *Romancero*, pp. 106, 114 f., 120 f.; *Épopée*, p. 193 f.; and above, p. 346, note 301.

⁸¹⁶ *Antol.* 11, p. 361.

⁸¹⁷ *Zeitsch. f. rom. Philol.*, 16, pp. 40-89.

⁸¹⁸ *Épopée*, pp. 17-18.

king, composed by the Goths after their defeat by Tarik, and echoed since the tenth century by the Arabic historians"; and if it be true that, as the same scholar argues,³¹⁹ "Walther of Aquitania was celebrated in Gothic Spain as elsewhere in the Teutonic domain, so that the romance of Gaiferos must be considered as part of the mysterious bond which unites the Visigothic epic to the heroic poetry of Castile," it will be difficult to maintain the proposition that the true development of the "romances de Don Bueso" fell within the very century in which they were characterized as antiquated, and that the romance, as a distinct form of poetry, did not in its essential elements exist for centuries before it rose into the realm of literature.

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³¹⁹ *L. c.*, pp. 18-20.

FAZIO DEGLI UBERTI AS A LYRIC POET

IT is now thirty years since Renier's edition¹ made accessible all the lyrics of Fazio degli Uberti; yet not even now is their value fitly recognized. The finest of them have found places in many anthologies, and so, doubtless, reached the public; but the recognition of their importance in the history of Italian lyric poetry is still incomplete. It is therefore my design to indicate briefly the position and value of these poems in the literature of their age.

The current neglect of Fazio is largely attributable to two causes. First, he comes between Dante and Petrarch (he is almost an exact contemporary of the latter), and is involved in the general eclipse of lesser talent by these two greater lights. In the second place, his relation to Dante, unmistakable as it is, has been wrongly emphasized. His long geographical poem, the *Dittamondo*, written in his later years on the pattern of the *Commedia*, but naturally far below its model, has, by reason of this relationship, drawn the chief attention of scholars. Precisely as Dante, in the years after his death, became the poet of the *Commedia* rather than of the *Vita Nuova* and the *Canzoniere*, so Fazio and his lyrics have been undeservedly entombed under the crushing weight of the *Dittamondo*.

A fair estimate of the value of Fazio's work is only possible in the light of some knowledge of his life, of which, to be sure, we do not know very many details. Born in exile, a descendant of that Farinata on whose house weighed the curse of Florence, he was constrained to live at the courts of Ghibelline princes, and to succumb at times to the temptations to flattery and time-serving that beset a courtier's career. Yet throughout he held fast to certain rooted convictions. He was a staunch Ghibelline, the last in fact who gave utterance to the ideals of his party in an age when those ideals were passing away, but likewise one of the first to recognize the new conditions, and to abandon the outworn dream of the Holy Roman Empire in favor of the concept of an Italy united under a native prince. He loved passionately, and in divers places; but in the end

¹ *Liriche edite e inedite di Fazio degli Uberti*, Florence, 1883.

he forsook his snares of carnal love, and devoted his Muse to the cause of his political ideals. In his expression of these changes of attitude he is almost always sincere, frequently effective, and at times unequalled in his age for beauty of lyrical utterance.

It is undeniable that Fazio's work is occasionally faulty in detail. The troubled conditions of his life, in which poverty stood by his side while he called on death in vain, as he tells us in the canzone *Lasso, che quando imaginando vegno*, must have made it impossible for him always to secure leisure for careful finishing; and the exigencies of a courtier's career led him to perpetrate certain poems, such as the address to Matteo and Bernabò Visconti, and that to a noble lady of Verona,² which have little intrinsic value. But on the whole one is more impressed by the extent to which his native genius survived the distractions of external conditions. He holds firmly to his political convictions, even when they are no longer those of his fellows; and his power of graphic phrasing flashes out to the last, even when the surrounding matter is no longer inspired.

The essential novelty of Fazio's lyric is the change from the exalted and at times superhuman mysticism of the *Stil nuovo* to what may be called, in the best sense, a realistic mode of treatment. The school of the *Stil nuovo*, the brief product of a long period of growth, could not survive the disintegration of the peculiar conflux of forces that had produced it. The decline of scholasticism involved the decay of the concepts that had formed the intellectual basis of the new style, and their retention could only be a conventional survival of outworn ideas no longer corresponding to the needs of the time. If lyric poetry was to continue, it must progress in a new direction; and that direction was already indicated in Dante himself. In two notable canzoni, the "winter song" *Io son venuto al punto della ruota* and the "song of the harsh speech" *Così nel mio parlar voglio esser aspro*, we find an unmistakable realistic tendency, an endeavor to represent a dominant emotion as vividly and immediately as possible. It is this realistic tendency that Fazio takes over, and hands on to his successors of the Trecento; there to be met and ultimately overcome by the precisely opposite tendency

² Beginning *L'utile intendo piu che la rettorica* and *Ahi donna grande, possente e magnanima*, respectively, and written throughout in *sdruciole* rimes, a favorite device with Fazio.

embodied in the work of Petrarch, and by his agency made to prevail in the lyric of Renaissance Italy.

The most important illustration of this relation between Dante and Fazio is the canzone *Io guardo fra l'erbette per li prati*, which is evidently based on Dante's winter canzone. The stanza is almost exactly the same, except for a slightly longer first part, and retains Dante's device of devoting most of it to a description of winter, contrasted, in the concluding four lines, with his own mental state. Fazio, however, uses spring as the source of his imagery, and thus departs from Dante in his choice of detail. He has chosen his model wisely, and follows it only in a general way, filling in the outline according to his own inclination, and producing an independent work, not a minute and lifeless copy.

Other love-poems of Fazio show a greater expression of his own personality. Two women seem to have been the chief objects of his adoration. In *Nella tua prima età pargola e pura* he describes the gradual growth of his love for a young girl during seven years, and his separation from her for another seven; yet his love is still faithful and her beauty enduring, as he proclaims in perhaps his finest lines:

Ch'e'cape' crespi e biondi,
 Gli occhi e la bocca e ogni biltà tua
 Non fece Iddio perchè venisser meno,
 Ma per mostrare a pieno
 A noi l'esempio de la gloria sua.

Here we have an unmistakable echo of the *Stil nuovo*, but with a more human phrasing. Perhaps for the same girl he wrote the canzone *Io guardo i crespi e li biondi capelli*, in which her beauty is described with an admirable combination of precision and breadth. Renier seems to me unjust to this poem in emphasizing its conventional character. After all, its coincidences with later work are due in large part to the fact that Fazio fixed the tradition for that later work, in which we miss precisely the individual touches which he gives us; such as

le lunghe e sottilette dita
 Vaghe di quello anel che l'un tien cinto.

In these poems we see how Fazio contrived to bring nearer to earth the exalted conceptions of the *Stil nuovo*, making them more broadly human without sacrificing their nobility.

The second love, belonging to a later stage of Fazio's life, is that for Ghidola Malaspina, married to a Count of Montefeltro. For her he wrote several poems (among them the "spring poem" already discussed), playing, for identification, on the figure of the rose among the thorns. Perhaps the most beautiful of them is *Nel tempo che s'infiora e cuopre d'erba*, a vision of a spring landscape in the midst of which sits his lady weaving a garland, until her maidens come, and with delight point her out to one another. The precision of observation, the accurate simplicity of the metaphors, the almost informal diction, give the whole a delightful air of improvisation and freedom of treatment, wholly different from the conscientious composition of similar scenes in Petrarch. When the lady sets on her head the garland she has woven,

sì bene le stava,
Che l'una a l'altra a dito la mostrava;

and she moves away to the music of a line extraordinarily modern in its cadence, "pavoneggiando per le verdi piagge." Here realism does not degenerate into triviality, nor is the underlying dignity of conception impaired.

A third poem addressed to Ghidola, *S'io savessi formar quanti son begli*, contains an element which suggests a later date, and portends a change—the presence of erudite mythological allusions, scattered through the first part of the poem with a profusion to which the author complacently draws attention—"Deh, nota ciò ch'io spargo!" Yet at the end he returns to his own natural vein of emotion, bidding Love carve on his tomb the cause of his fate, but not his lady's name, lest she should be unjustly accused of cruelty. She is merciful, and will grieve that her beauty should have undone her worshipper, who is loath that she should be even momentarily troubled for his sake. The self-abnegation and delicate regard for his lady that this passage shows (it is unfortunately too long to quote), is the completest contrast imaginable to the restless, self-centered emotion of Petrarch.

So we come to the end of the love-poems, and to a change in Fazio's attitude. Toward the middle of the century, moved by contemplation of the woes of Italy, he turned from love to political speculation. Yet the change, tho it resulted in that savage invective against carnal love, *Io vorrei 'nanzi stare in mezzo un fango*, must have been gradual; for in the most sustained of his political poems, *Quella virtù ch'il terzo ciel infonde*, he begs Love merely to grant him a truce from the perpetual thought of his lady, that he may recount a vision inspired by the sad estate of his country. In an exquisite stanza he tells how he fell asleep on a hill, and beheld "una alta donna con canuta chioma," the goddess Rome, who recounts her past glories and her present misery. Here historical allusion is naturally prominent; but it is illuminated by an imaginative reaction, expressed in vivid phrases. The ancient Romans are not mere strings of names, but "rigidi padri colle scure in mano"; Attilius appears "with hands calloused by plowing." Something of Dante's marvellous power of observation is in these lines; and something of Dante's exaltation in the concluding apostrophe to the

talian giardino

Chiuso da' monti e dal suo proprio mare.

In the two historical poems on Florence and Fiesole, which suggest the purely erudite manner of the *Dittamondo*, inspiration seems largely to have failed; but the poem which perhaps closes the series, the bitter invective against Charles IV. of Luxemburg *Di quel possi tu ber che bevve Crasso*, is characteristically vigorous in its asault on that well-intentioned monarch who so grievously dashed the last hopes of the Ghibellines. It evidently became famous, for it is cited by the Florentine Sacchetti at the close of a similar canzone of his own.

Thus we have completed our brief survey of the chief classes of Fazio's lyric, and seen the finest examples of each. It would, however, be idle to assert that he always maintains the level of the latter, even in the period of his maturity. We can find instances of metrical variation, and of words tormented for the requirements of the rime, tho these defects are partly excusable because of the troubled conditions of Fazio's life previously alluded to. One

defect in particular is present in his work, at times to an alarming extent; I mean abuse of erudite allusions, whether mythological or historical. We have already seen traces of this in *S'io savessi formar*, where however it is abandoned toward the close in favor of an outburst of sincere personal emotion. In *Grave m'è a dire come amaro torna* it appears more extensively, tho still not in excessive profusion; but we can see that the poet relies more on it, and on a corresponding conventionality of diction. Akin to this is the astonishing display of astrological learning in *Tanto son volti i ciel di parte in parte*, with which he endeavors to persuade Ludwig of Bavaria to intervene in the affairs of Italy. It must be said, however, that rarely does Fazio employ such learned allusions to absolute excess, and never does he make them the sole reason for a poem's existence, while often, as we have seen, they are so transformed by imagination as to become genuinely poetical.

To speak of the influence of Fazio on the subsequent development of Trecento lyric would carry us too far beyond our present limits. I may however state that most of the chief types of that lyric are to be found in his work, some complete, others adumbrated. It is but a step from the passionate outcries of *Lasso, che quando imaginando vegno* to the systematic arrangement of such maledictions in the *disperata* devised by Fazio's eccentric friend Antonio da Ferrara; and if we examine *Grave m'è a dire*, with its numerous erudite allusions and rather conventional diction, we can see how a similar step will bring us to the rigid form of the canzone by Bruzio Visconti (also a friend of Fazio's) *Mal d'amor parla chi d'amor non sente*, with its learned reference punctually at the end of every stanza. In this movement toward greater rigidity of form the value of the realistic tendency initiated by Fazio was increasingly lost sight of, until the love of erudition for its own sake came to prevail, as in the work of Serdini in lyric, and of Fazio himself in the *Dittamondo*.

We have thus traced the evolution of Fazio from a masterly writer of love-poems, bringing the mysticism of the *Stil nuovo* down to earth, but not robbing it wholly of its clouds of glory, into a fervent political enthusiast, on whose mind dawns the vision of a united Italy, after he has seen the futility of his partisan hopes; and

in the end into a man who curses fleshly love and the poverty that has undone his life, and abandons song for the laborious versifying of erudition. Surely it is an aberration to fix our eyes on this last stage, slighting the visionary who calls up the past glories of Rome, the lover who sees his lady the fairest flower in all the pageantry of spring. We are not called upon to defend Fazio's repute merely on the strength of his historical importance, large as that unquestionably is. His place as the most noteworthy lyric poet of the century, after Petrarch, seems to me assured; and he has some desirable qualities which Petrarch himself did not possess. He is the superior of Cino da Pistoia in poetic force, and in the fact that he is breaking a new path for Italian poetry, not following a way already made smooth; while Boccaccio, as Renier rightly says, does not, as a lyric poet, enter the competition. Not only is Fazio of large significance as the representative of new tendencies in Italian lyric poetry; he contrived, amid the pressure of changing times and adverse circumstances, to bequeath us poems of great and enduring beauty.

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MONTAIGNE AND *THE TEMPEST*

IT has long been recognized that in *The Tempest* Shakespeare made use of Montaigne's essay *Of the Caniballes* as translated by Florio. The following description of an ideal commonwealth given by the old councillor Gonzalo is a paraphrase of a passage in Montaigne:

I' the commonwealth I would by contraries
Execute all things; for no kind of traffic
Would I admit; no name of magistrate;
Letters should not be known; riches, poverty,
Bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none;
No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil;
No occupation; all men idle, all;
And women too, but innocent and pure;
No sovereignty (2.1.148-157).

The two speeches of Gonzalo immediately following are also related to Montaigne. Morton Luce, in his edition of *The Tempest* (*Arden Shakespeare*), after pointing out the parallels to the passages mentioned, quotes from *Of the Caniballes* as follows:

Three of that nation, ignorant how deare the knowledge of our corruptions will one day cost their repose, securitie, and happinesse, and how their ruine shall proceed from this commerce, which I imagine is already well advanced—miserable as they are to have suffered themselves to be so cosened by a desire of new fangled novelties, etc.

This passage, he says, illustrates the ethical thought of the play, which is summed up in Caliban's speech:

You taught me language; and my profit on't
Is, I know how to curse: the red plague rid you,
For learning me your language (1.2.363-5)!

He adds that many other resemblances to "*The Tempest*" may be

found in the essay *Of the Caniballes*, but gives no further examples; nor are any furnished by Mr. John M. Robertson in his work entitled *Montaigne and Shakespeare*. It may be of interest to suggest a few.

There are certain accidental resemblances that hardly need be regarded. Montaigne says that his servant who had been in Canada lived there 'ten or twelve years,' and twelve years is the time of Prospero's sojourn in the island. The passage:

For more assurance that a living prince
Does now speak to thee, I embrace thy body (5.1.107-8),

a reminiscence of such scenes in classical literature as the attempt of Ulysses to embrace his mother in Hades, suggests Montaigne's 'We embrace all but we fasten nothing but wind'.

There is some likeness between the land of the cannibals and the island of Prospero. The island is, indeed, as in the Epilogue, usually spoken of as bare or desert, though speeches of Caliban (2. 2. 167 ff., etc.) show it to be somewhat productive, but Gonzalo says of it: 'Here is everything advantageous to life' (2. 1. 48); a sentence that may be compared with the following in Montaigne: 'To this day they yet enjoy that natural uberite and fruitfulness, which without labouring toyle, doth in such plenteous abundance furnish them with all necessary things, that they need not enlarge their limits. . . . They neither want any necessary thing.' Adrian says of the island: 'It must needs be of a subtle, tender, and delicate temperance. . . . The air breathes upon us here most sweetly.' The cannibals 'live in a country of so exceeding pleasant and temperate situation, that as my testimonies have told me, it is verie rare to see a sicke body amongst them'.

The theme of Montaigne's essay is the contrast between the virtues of the savages and the vices of civilized men. In various ways he illustrates the thought:

I finde there is nothing in that nation, that is either barbarous or savage, unlesse men call that barbarism which is not common to them. . . . They are even savage, as we call those fruits wilde, which nature of herself, and of her ordinarie progresse hath produced: whereas indeed, they are those which our selves have altered by our

artificial devices, and diverted from our common order, we should rather term savage. In those are the true and most profitable virtues, and naturall properties most lively and vigorous.

The character of Caliban is sufficient evidence that Shakespeare did not believe in the perfect natural man, but rather in the blessings of education and civilization, aiding man toward a state of virtue. What is Prospero, the man so learned that he has gained control even over the phenomena of nature, so noble that he can forgive even his worst enemies, but the man who has in his search after wisdom been brought far toward the perfect state of humanity? Prospero's sentiments toward Caliban, the natural man 'whom stripes may move, not kindness', are like those of Wordsworth's Wanderer toward the American Indian:

But that pure archetype of human greatness,
I found him not. There, in his stead, appeared
A creature, squalid, vengeful, and impure;
Remorseless, and submissive to no law
But superstitious fear, and abject sloth (*Excursion* 3.951-5).

None the less, between inhabitants of the island other than Caliban, and the civilized men shipwrecked there Shakespeare draws a contrast that suggests Montaigne. The latter says that the cannibals do not 'lack this great portion, to know how to enjoy their condition happily, and are contented with what nature affordeth them', and that 'those that are much about one age, doe generally entercall one another brethren, and such as are younger, they call children, and the aged are esteemed as fathers to all the rest. These leave this full possession of goods in common, and without division, to their heires', and above all: 'There was never any opinion found so unnaturall and immodest, that would excuse treason, treacherie, disloyaltie, tyrannie, crueltie, and such like, which are our ordinary faults,' implying that such are not the faults of the cannibals. There is a similar contrast between the civilized man and the savage in the following lines, spoken when the strange shapes, helpers of Ariel, bring a banquet to the King of Naples and his companions:

GONZALO. For, certes, these are people of the island,—
Who, though they are of monstrous shape, yet, note,

Their manners are more gentle-kind than of
 Our human generation you shall find
 Many, nay, almost any.
 PROSPERO. (*Aside.*) Honest lord,
 Thou hast said well; for some of you there present
 Are worse than devils (3.3.30-36).

Montaigne's civilized faults of 'treason, treacherie, disloyaltie', in contrast to savage love of one's neighbor, are exemplified to the full in the men whom Prospero rightly calls 'worse than devils'; for, in addition to their older crime against Prospero, two of them have just been planning against their friends another crime for the sake of worldly gain.

Prospero has been the teacher of Caliban:

PROSPERO. I pitied thee,
 Took pains to make thee speak, taught thee each hour
 One thing or other: when thou didst not, savage,
 Know thine own meaning, but wouldst gabble like
 A thing most brutish, I endow'd thy purposes
 With words that made them known: but thy vile race,
 Though thou didst learn, had that in't which good natures
 Could not abide to be with (1.2.353-60).

Shakespeare represents Caliban as so corrupt that he cannot receive the good things Prospero endeavors to give him: quite different the thought of Montaigne, who (as appears in the passage mentioned in the quotation from Luce given above) fears that the knowledge of European corruptions will destroy the innocence of the savages. Speaking of a barbarous manner of execution learned by the cannibals from the Portugese, Montaigne comments:

They supposed that these people of the other world (as they who had sowed the knowledge of many vices amongst their neighbours, and were much more cunning in all kinds of evils and mischiefs than they) undertooke not this manner of revenge without cause, and that consequently it was more smartfull and cruell than theirs, and thereupon began to leave their old fashion to follow this.

The readiness of Caliban, who could not profit by the wisdom of Prospero, to subject himself to so wretched a specimen of humanity

as Stephano, even though the worst new vice he learns is drunkenness, is somewhat of a parallel. So far are Stephano and Trinculo from superiority to the native, Caliban, that they fall in with his worst vices, and plan to aid him in an attempt to murder Prospero—a deed that Caliban thinks will be possible for them, though impossible for himself. The admiration expressed by Caliban for the king and his companions—of whom he says: 'These be brave spirits, indeed' (5. 261)—is full of irony, for some of them are in treachery and ingratitude worse than himself. Curiously similar to the admiration of Caliban is that of Miranda, who, when she exclaims at the sight of the newcomers:

O brave new world,
That has such people in't (5.183-4)!

seems to act for the moment something of the part of the untutored savage first looking upon Europeans. Her words echo the phrase 'the other world' in a passage of Montaigne already quoted ('They supposed that these people of the other world' etc.). Her father answers in a speech that emphasizes her ignorance and his sad knowledge of the evil character of some of the nobly appearing men before her: 'New for you'.

Montaigne insists on the utter lack of covetousness among the savages, so much in contrast with the habits of Europeans, who make war for the sake of booty. The wars of the cannibals

are noble and generous, and have as much excuse and beautie, as this humane infirmity may admit: they ayme at nought so much, and have no other foundation amongst them, but the mere jelousie of vertue. They contend not for the gaining of new lands, . . . else have they nothing to do with the goods and spoyles of the vanquished.

Shakespeare, in a scene none the less full of meaning for its humor, brings out the superiority in this respect of Caliban to Stephano and Trinculo. When, on their way to attack Prospero, the Europeans stop to seize the rich garments put out as a snare for them, Caliban cries out:

Let it alone, thou fool; it is but trash. . . .
 The dropsy drown this fool! what do you mean
 To dote thus on such luggage? Let's along, . . .
 I will have none on't: we shall lose our time (4.224-248).

It is sometimes said that Caliban is a poet; the following speech is especially remarkable:

The isle is full of noises,
 Sounds and sweet airs, that give delight, and hurt not.
 Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments
 Will hum about mine ears; and sometimes voices,
 That, if I then had wak'd after long sleep,
 Will make me sleep again: and then, in dreaming,
 The clouds methought would open and show riches
 Ready to drop upon me; that, when I wak'd
 I cried to dream again (3.2.141-49)¹

Montaigne praises the poetical gifts of the cannibals; quoting one of their warlike songs, he remarks: 'An invention that hath no shew of barbarism'. Giving one of their 'amorous canzonets' ('Adder stay, stay good adder, that my sister may by the patterne of thy partie-coloured coat drawe the fashion and worke of a rich lace, for me to give unto my love; so may thy beautie, thy nimblenesse or disposition be ever preferred before all other serpents'), he comments: 'I am so conversant with Poesie, that I may judge this invention hath no barbarisme at all in it, but is altogether Anacreontike'.

¹ Let there be set beside Caliban's words the following passage spoken by Milton's Adam in Paradise:

Millions of spiritual Creatures walk the Earth
 Unseen, both when we wake, and when we sleep:
 All these with ceaseless praise his works behold
 Both day and night: how often from the steep
 Of echoing Hill or Thicket have we heard
 Celestial voices to the midnight air,
 Sole, or responsive each to others note
 Singing thir great Creator: oft in bands
 While they keep watch, or nightly rounding walk
 With Heav'nly touch of instrumental sounds
 In full harmonic number joind, thir songs
 Divide the night, and lift our thoughts to Heaven (*P. L.* 4. 677-688).

How astonishing is Shakespeare's use of Montaigne's essay! The land of the cannibals becomes the imaginary commonwealth of Gonzalo. By transposing letters in Montaigne's title the poet transforms *cannibal* into Caliban,² and to the creature thus named he gives many traits not suggested in the essay. Though Caliban still retains some of the excellencies of the virtuous native, he has also the vices of the savage. The wickedness of civilized men is not less clear to Shakespeare than to Montaigne; but the dramatist, remembering also their virtues, makes no sweeping contrast between the evils of civilization and the blessings of savagery: in presenting the vices of civilized men he contrasts his villains not merely with Caliban the savage, or the supernatural people of the island, companions of Ariel, but also with the charitable Gonzalo, the just and learned Prospero, and even the pure and lovely Miranda herself.

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² It should be remembered that *Caliban* is a possible variant of *Cannibal*, or even, like it, a form of *Carib*, the name of a West Indian and South American people, encountered by Columbus, whose name is now best known through the Caribbean Sea. See the *New English Dictionary* (under *Caliban*, and *Cannibal*), and *Caliban's Visits to England* by Sir Sidney Lee (*Cornhill Magazine*, March, 1913). Shakespeare may have heard the form *Caliban*, or even seen it written.

PROFESSOR FITZMAURICE-KELLY AND THE SOURCE OF SHAKESPEARE'S TEMPEST.

. . . puesto que la verdad bien puede enfermar pero no morir del todo. (Cervántes)

PROFESSOR Fitzmaurice-Kelly, on page 290 of his *Littérature Espagnole*, Paris 1913, says:

. . . Antonio de Eslava qui serait oublié depuis longtemps si Shakespeare n'avait pas tiré *The Tempest* des *Noches de Invierno* (1609).

If it is true that the Fourth Chapter of the *Noches de Invierno* is the source of the *Tempest*, then the discovery must be attributed to whom it is due, namely to *Edmund Dorer*, who was the first to suggest this idea in the *Magazin für die Litteratur des In- und Auslandes* (CVII, 77) vom 31 Januar 1885.

Suggesting another explanation, I reprinted an episode from the *Caballero del Febo*¹ in the *Cultura Española* (XII, 1023 and XV, 733) de noviembre de 1908 y de agosto de 1909, as the source of the Fourth Chapter of the *Noches de Invierno*, and again the same episode in the *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, XLVII, 128 as the source of the *Tempest*. As neither of the two articles is mentioned in the *Littérature Espagnole*, it will perhaps not be amiss to reprint here the late Sr. Menéndez y Pelayo's opinion of my Spanish paper: Madrid, 21 de Mayo de 1908.

Sr. D. José de Perott

Muy Sr mio, de mi estimación: Por haber estado ausente de Madrid no he escrito á Vd. antes participándole el recibo de sus excelentes y eruditas investigaciones sobre las fuentes de las *Noches de Invierno* de Eslava, q. ojalá hubiera conocido yo cuando tuve q. escribir sobre aquel libro.² El trabajo de Vd. es muy interesante

¹ See the bibliography of this novel of chivalry in the *Romanic Review*, IV, 397.

² See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la Novela*, Tomo II, Madrid, 1907, p. CXXI.

y digno de q. se publique, y con este objeto se le he entregado á mi querido amigo y discípulo D. Ramón Menéndez y Pidal, q. es uno de los directores de la revista *Cultura Española*. Se publicará en uno de los próximos números, y con este objeto le he comunicado las varias adiciones q. Vd. me ha remitido. Supongo q. ya habrá escrito á Vd. sobre este punto.

Por mi parte, le doy las gracias por esta útil contribución al estudio de nuestra historia literaria, y quedo suyo afmo s.s.q.s.m.b.

M. Menéndez y Pelayo

As to my second paper, I must content myself with giving a list of verbal borrowings in the Protasis-Scene of the *Tempest*, from the text reprinted in *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, XLVII, 128: *The First Part of the Mirrour of Princely deedes and Knighthood*. Imprinted at London by Thomas Este (no date; but the second volume bears the date of 1599), f. 148. Here is the list:

then to trouble himselfe with the care of gouerning.

(*The Mirrour* f. 148);

and to him put
The mannage of my state.

.....
The Gouernment I cast vpon my brother,
And to my State grew stranger.

(*Temp.* I, 2, 69-70, 75-76);

Aboue all hee studied the Art Magicke, wher by his paines at length
came to the most absolute perfection of all Asia.

(*The Mirrour*, f. 148);

and for the liberall Artes,
Without a parallell.

(*Temp.* I, 2, 73-74);

my sister and those waiting women which you haue seene.

(*The Mirrour*, f. 148);

Had I not
Fowre, or fíue women once, that tended me?

(*Temp.* I, 2, 46-47);

The Emperours shippe rushed on the shoare.

(*The Mirrour*, f. 14);

How came we a shore?

(*Temp.* I, 2, 158);

the forward ship arriued in a faire and delectable Iland.

(*The Mirrour*, f. 14);

Heere in this Iland we arriu'd.

(*Temp.* I, 2, 171);

the chariot tooke landing.

(*The Mirrour*, f. 14);

The Kings sonne have I landed by himselfe.

(*Temp.* I, 2, 221);

without any lacke of sufficient foode.

(*The Mirrour*, f. 14);

Some food, we had.

(*Temp.* I, 2, 160);

the Emperour leaped into it.

(*The Mirrour*, f. 14);

Was the first man that leapt.

(*Temp.* I, 2, 214);

louing to bee solitarie.

The corresponding passage in the Spanish original runs as follows:
Y como se viesse tan solo de su buena compañía, ni se si fue por des-
contento que tenia del mundo, o por tener mas soledad y sosiego para
exercitarse en su estudio. . . .

(*The Mirrour*, f. 148);

being transported

And rapt in secret studies.

I thus neglecting worldly ends, all dedicated

To closenes, and the bettering of my mind.

(*Temp.* I, 2, 76-77, 89-90);

The Emperour Trebatio pursuing those which had stolne his
lady, left all his knights, & tooke another way.³

³ Title of the chapter in which the story is told.

(*The Mirrour*, f. 12);

he hath lost his fellowes,

And strays about to finde 'em.

(*Temp.* I, 2, 416-417);

the shippe rent in peece.

(*The Mirrour*, f. 14);

Dash'd all to peece.

(*Temp.* I, 2, 8);

and being on the hatches,

(*The Mirrour*, f. 14);

The Marriners all vnder hatches stowed.

(*Temp.* I, 2, 230);

and yet this chaunge proceeded . . . rather by the sacred vertue of the place . . .

(*The Mirrour*, f. 16);

But doth suffer a Sea-change.

(*Temp.* I, 2, 400);

The very vertue of compassion in thee.

(*Temp.* I, 2, 27);

In my Spanish article I called attention to a novelette of *Márcos Martínez* which constitutes the chapters XXVII, XXVIII and XXIX of the first book of the Fourth Part of the *Caballero del Febo*. The most cursory perusal of this novelette would convince anybody that we have here the *chief* source of Philip Massinger's *A Very Woman*. In spite of that Prof. Fitzmaurice-Kelly prefers to follow in the track of *Moriz Rapp*,⁴ without naming him, by calling *El Amante Liberal* the source of the English play (*Littérature Espagnole*, p. 291). As a matter of fact, the novel of Cervantes had only a secondary influence on Massinger's play.

WORCESTER, MASS.,

August 15, 1914

JOSEPH DE PEROTT

⁴ *Studien über das englische Theater*, Tübingen, 1862, p. 246.

THE PRIORESS'S OATH

THE sketch of the Prioress, in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, is a masterpiece of subtly penetrating characterization.¹ Every stroke tells; every concrete detail carries with it an aura of associations,² and it is these associations that blend into the delicately ironical yet exquisitely sympathetic portrayal of a clash of ideals too lightly touched to be even remotely tragic, too deftly suggested at point after point to miss its delightfully human appeal. That the gentle Prioress's greatest oath was by no fortuitous saint—the mere accident of rhyme³—we may be very sure. But its full characterizing value will certainly elude our twentieth-century perceptions until we have learned to think of St. Eligius as the fourteenth century thought of him. And the fourteenth century thought of him, as it happens, in such a way as to put the aptness of his association with the Prioress beyond all question. No detail is unimportant that adds to what we know of Chaucer's art, and I make no apology for dwelling on what in itself may seem to be a minor point.

¹ I have elsewhere ("Simple and Coy," *Anglia*, XXXIII, Oct., 1910, pp. 440-51) studied in some detail the art which Chaucer has lavished on this fourteenth-century "Portrait of a Lady."

² Such as the connotation of the Prioress's table-manners in their original setting in Jean de Meun; the implications of "simple and coy"; the hint of the conventions of courtly love in the description of the Prioress's looks; the happy ambiguity of the motto on the brooch. See *Anglia*, XXXIII, 440-42; *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXIII, 297, n. 2.

³ That the rhyme had *something* to do with it, is obvious enough. But one cannot always tell which rhyme in a couplet came first in the poet's mind (see, for two cases in point, *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXIII, 287-88), and anyway the disclosure of a sort of Cartesian preëstablished harmony between rhyme and reason is one of the prerogatives of the poetic gift. To insist that every second rhyme in a large part of Chaucer is the creature of its final vocable would be to make it "rym dogere!" with a vengeance. Rhyme limits the poet's range of choice, but "in der Beschränkung zeigt sich erst der Meister."

I

The career of Saint Eligius is one of rather peculiar interest. Beginning life as a goldsmith's apprentice, he became the founder of a remarkable and still flourishing branch of his craft, the confidential adviser of two kings, and a man of large affairs; he withdrew from the court and took orders, and was promptly elevated to a bishopric, devoting his art (which he still practiced) now exclusively to the service of the church; and about him there grew up in time a mass of legendary material, much of which had little to do with his real significance. He was at once, in a word, an artist and a courtier and a saint, a man of great physical beauty, and a lover, in his earlier days, of personal adornment. And those who glorified him as a saint did not forget the striking characteristics of the man.⁴

⁴ His life was written by his friend and fellow-worker St. Ouen. This life is printed, with an invaluable historical introduction by its editor, Bruno Krusch, in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum)*, tomus IV, 1902, pp. 634-731. See the review in the *Analecta Bollandista*, vol. xxii, p. 108. It is also to be found in Ghesquiere, *Acta Sanctorum Belgii Selecta* (Brussels, 1785), vol. iii, pp. 198-311, together with the "Analecta Eligiana" (pp. 311-331) of Cornelius Smetius; in Surius, *Historiae seu Vitae Sanctorum* (Augustae Taurinorum, 1880), vol. xii, pp. 5-62; and in d'Achery, *Spicilegium* (Paris, 1723), vol. ii, pp. 76-123 ff. A resumé of his life is given in Guérin, *Les Petites Bollandistes Vies des Saints*, vol. xiv (Paris, 1878), p. 415. See also Baring-Gould, *The Lives of the Saints* (London, 1877), volume for December, pp. 2-9. The fullest and most valuable discussion of St. Eligius (after that of Krusch) is in the two articles by Louis de Nussac: "Saint Éloi, sa légende et son culte," *Bulletin de la Société scientifique, historique et archéologique de la Corrèze*, vol. xvii (1895), pp. 529-652; "Saint Éloi, ses résidences en Limousin," *ibid.*, vol. xix, pp. 309-339. The following authorities I have not seen: Alph. van Loo, *Levensschets van den Heiligen Eligius*, Gand, 1894; Ozanam, *Vies des Saints de l'Atelier*, Tours, 1895; *Vie de saint Éloi, artiste, homme d'état, évêque*, Bruges et Lille, 1895; K. Nyrop, "St. Eligius," in *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 2d series, vol. xiv (1899), pp. 155-66; Edm. de Vos, *Leven van den heiligen Eligius bekend onder den naam van Sint Eloy*, Bruges, 1900 (rev. *Anal. Boll.*, xx, 226); Paul Parsy, *Saint Éloi (Les Saints)*, Paris, 1907 (rev. *Anal. Boll.*, xxvi, 477); M. Moulé, "Saint Éloi guerisseur et la légende du pied coupé," in *Bulletin de la Soc. Franç. d'Hist. de la Médecine*, Paris, 1910; Antonio Medin, "La leggenda popolare di S. Eligio e sua iconografia," in *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*, vol. lxx (1910-1911), pp. 775-802 (rev. *Anal. Boll.*, xxxi, 359); *Mélusine*, xi, 463); Corblet, *Hagiographie du diocèse d'Amiens*, vol. iv, pp. 238 ff.; *Bulletin de la société hist. et archéol. du Limousin*, vol. xlvi (1896), pp. 7-58. For further bibliography with special reference to St. Eligius and folk-lore, see below, p. 383.

He was born about 590 in the town of Chatelac (Chaptelat), and he was early apprenticed to a goldsmith named Abbon in the neighboring city of Limoges. From Limoges, as his reputation grew, he went to Paris, and he next appears in association with the *trésorier* of Clotaire II. The excellence of his work, and his apparently somewhat surprising probity gained him the confidence and personal friendship of the king. On the accession of Dagobert in 629 Eligius rose still higher in the royal favor.⁵ He was admitted to the secret counsels of the king;⁶ he had intimate connection with the coinage of the realm;⁷ and he was sent on at least one important diplomatic mission.⁸ His position at the court of Dagobert was one of eminence,⁹ and with his secular activities he joined an assiduous practice of good works.¹⁰ On the death of Dagobert in 639 Eligius renounced his offices, and withdrew from worldly affairs. In 641 (according to some authorities, 642) he was made Bishop of Noyon, but his activities in the adornment of churches and sepulchres with gold, silver, and precious stones continued without interruption.¹¹ The rest of his career does not concern us here.

⁵ The relations between Dagobert and Eligius survive in the racy and anything but reverent lines of the well-known folksong, "Le bon Roi Dagobert." See *Chants et Chansons populaires de la France*, Paris, 1858; Weckerlin, *Chansons populaires de France*, vol. ii, pp. 127 ff.; etc.

⁶ *Vita*, Lib. I, cap. 12.

⁷ See Krusch, pp. 641-43, with the full references there given, for a discussion of the significance of the Merovingian coins bearing the name of Eligius, and compare de Nussac, xvii, 602-03. For a clear and convincing argument for the identity of Eligius the *monétaire* and St. Eligius, see d'Amécourt, "Les monétaires francs. Encore Abbon et Saint Éloi," in *Annuaire de la Soc. franç. de numism.*, 1882, pp. 79-81, quoted in Engel et Serrure, *Traité de numismatique du moyen âge* (Paris, 1891), vol. i, pp. 77-79. For a description of the various coins bearing the signature of Eligius see *ibid.*, pp. 79-84. Compare the passage from Machaut, quoted below, p. 372.

⁸ Krusch, p. 635.

⁹ See *Vita*. Lib. I, caps. 9-10, and compare Krusch's statement (p. 635): "Tantum auctoritatis et gloriae in palatio assecutus est, ut legati peregrini advenientes regem Francorum non prius salutasse dicantur, quam ipsum adiissent, victus necessaria aut consilium salubre poscentes."

¹⁰ On his founding of the Abbey of Solignac in 622, see *Vita*, Lib. I, caps. 15-16; Krusch, pp. 636-37; de Nussac, xix, 325-37. Compare Krusch, pp. 637-638, for an account of the other foundations of Eligius, and for the lavish use of his art in the adornment of the sepulchres of the saints.

¹¹ *Vita*, Lib. II, caps. 6-7; Krusch, p. 640. Compare especially the account

His reputation, however, does, and that grew steadily. The provenience of his cult is amazing in its extent,¹² and Krusch's statement seems to be amply justified by the evidence: "Eligium Flandrenses et Novismagenses et Lemovicini patronum peculiarem sibi vindicant neque vero cultus eius eorum terminis coercebatur, sed Galliae fines longe transgressus est atque dubitari vix potest, quin inter celeberrimos totius ecclesiae occidentalis sanctos eum enumerari liceat."¹³ And it is precisely in that part of France from which it would most readily pass across the channel into England that his fame was greatest. "L'aire géographique," says de Nussac, "où le culte de l'évêque de Tournay et de Noyon est le plus fréquent, le plus intense, a pour centre certainement les Flandres et la Picardie."¹⁴ And in his cult, apart from the purely legendary aspects

in the French metrical version of his life (see below, p. 376) of his adornment of the tombs, closing with the lines:

Or, gemmes et toute autre rien,
Li sains l'emploioit mout très bien,
Et fist de si noble aparel
Chel ouvrage que son parel,
Ne de biauté ne de vaillanche
Ne set-on nul en toute Franche.
Chil qui le voient mout le loent,
Neis chil qui parler en oent

(ed. Peigné-Delacourt, p. 58).

There is evidence that Eligius's connection with the coinage also continued after his elevation to the bishopric. See Engel et Serrure, vol. i, pp. 82-84.

¹² See particularly the following divisions of de Nussac's articles in the *Bulletin . . . de Corrèze*: "II. Culte et Légendes de Saint Éloi en France: 1. A Noyon; 2. A Paris; 3. En Ile-de-France et dans le Nord; 4. En Lorraine; 5. Dans l'Est" (vol. xvii, pp. 543-69); "III. [cont.] 1. En Bretagne et dans l'Ouest; 2. Dans le centre et le Midi" (pp. 570-86); "IV. Culte et Légendes a l'Étranger: En Italie; En Suisse; En Allemagne; En Flandres et Belgique" (pp. 587-600); "V. Saint Éloi Limousin" (pp. 601-636); in vol. xix: "I. Chapetelat" (pp. 309-318); "II. Limoges" (pp. 319-324); "III. Solignac" (pp. 325-337). See also Krusch, p. 641; *Mélusine*, vol. viii, pp. 154-55 (Belgium, Germany, Italy, Paris); *ibid.*, pp. 208-209 (Rome, Alsace); vol. xi, p. 446 (Bretagne).

¹³ P. 641.

¹⁴ *Bulletin . . . de Corrèze*, vol. xvii, pp. 601-602. That Eligius was well known in England at a later period the references cited in Skeat (*Oxford Chaucer*, v, 13-14) make clear. See also below, p. 384. And his name occurs frequently in the contemporary French poets with whom Chaucer was familiar.

to be treated later, one element stands out sharply. Eligius is now recognized by the best authorities in the field as the founder of the great school of enamel-work that centres at Limoges.¹⁵ But even from the very first it was on his craftsmanship that his fame rested. It was as the artificer of objects of beauty consecrated to the glory of God that St. Eligius was known all over France, and the widespread attribution to him of chalices, crosses, censers, and reliquaries of cunning workmanship found in churches and abbeys throughout the land bears witness to the hold which his distinction as an artist gained upon the popular mind.¹⁶

Compare, for example, his association with the *mint* in Machaut (*Oeuvres*, ed. Tarbé, p. 120) :

Et se tu faist forgier monnoie,
Pour Dieu, fai li tele qu'on oïe
Dire qu'elle est de bon aloy;
Car je te jur, par Saint Eloy,
Qu'il n'est chose grant ne petite
Dont personne soit tant maudite.

Compare also Froissart (Ed. Scheler, ii, 347) :

Car là fu le jour saint Eloi,
Qui siet dou droit à lendemain.
Et recorde que point de pain,
Char ne poisson ne aultre arrin,
Ne menguent son jour, à fin
Qu'il soient gardé de misere,
De contraire et de mort amere;
Tant ont il grant fiance en li
Que cascuns en bien persevere
Le jour où chils haus sains nasqui.

See also below, p. 376.

¹⁵ The most important treatment of Eligius's contribution to the development of the art of inlaying plaques of gold or silver upon less precious metals is found in Ernest Rupin's definitive work, *L'Oeuvre de Limoges*, Paris, 1892, pp. 30-41. See also the references in Krusch, pp. 643-644; de Nussac, xvii, 601-607. De Nussac's summary may be quoted here: "Orfèvre-émailleur, les oeuvres du ministre de Dagobert se sont répandues en de nombreux sanctuaires de France . . . Dans un ouvrage définitif pour la question M. Ernest Rupin a déterminé quelle grande personnalité saint Éloi s'était faite dans les annales de l'art français: Il a donné l'essor à une industrie artistique qui, par douze siècles de production incessante, a continué la diffusion de son culte dans le monde civilisé" (*Bulletin . . . de Corrèze*, xvii, 529).

¹⁶ See the list of the works attributed to St. Eligius in Rupin, pp. 30-31, and in de Nussac, xvii, 605-606. Compare especially de Nussac, xvii, 604:

In the very service of the church itself this fact stands out in bold relief, and at no time more than during the century just preceding Chaucer's, as well as during Chaucer's own.¹⁷ For the hymns to St. Eligius are very numerous, and with few exceptions they lay stress upon his peculiar office of lending beauty to the symbols of holiness. I shall cite a few typical stanzas.

Sanctus Dei dum sculpebat
Regis utensilia,
Textus sacri praeferibat
Oculis eloquia,
Quibus rapta mens ardebat
Amplecti coelestia.¹⁸

Verbo, virtute, sanguine
Lemovicis enituit,
Latens sub fabri nomine
Late lucerna claruit.

Ut advenit Lutetiam,
Regis ibi Lotharii
Plenam favor in gratiam
Provexit aurificii.

Artis in exercitio
Fabrum contemplans omnium,
Quaestus fabrilis pretio
Famem pavit egentium.¹⁹

"Cette spécialité [i. e., Eligius's undoubted practice of his art] imprima pour toujours le souvenir du saint de tous côtés en France où son culte, de ce fait, se popularisa étonnamment, devint si fort que l'on créa de véritables légendes en lui attribuant des oeuvres limousines qui, certes, portent le cachet d'autres siècles que le sien." This was particularly true, as it happens, just before Chaucer's day: "Du vii^e au xii^e siècle (cinq cents ans!) c'est la période d'incubation pour le culte et la légende. L'orfèvre et le monétaire devient le forgeron, le maréchal, le héros du pied coupé. . . . D'un autre côté, à la fin du x^e siècle, avec l'âge féodal enfin organisé, naît la civilisation limousine dont l'orfèvrerie et l'emaillerie sont le côté artistique le plus brillant. A la faveur de l'expansion et de la fortune grandissante des oeuvres de Limoges du xi^e au xiii^e siècle, se ravive la figure du fondateur de Solignac" (de Nussac, p. 639).

¹⁷ See the close of the last note above. The hymns of the church offer a striking confirmation of de Nussac's statement.

¹⁸ *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, ed. Dreves, Heft xix, p. 124, no. 199 (thirteenth century).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 200 (thirteenth century). See also no. 201.

Praeter utensilia
 Mensis apta regiis
 Vasa cudit propria
 Sanctorum reliquiis.²⁰

Cum gemmas auro foederat
 Materiam exsuperat
 Operis industria,
 Cumque manus operatur
 Lectione saginatur
 Otii mens nescia.²¹

Of particular interest is the long biographical hymn (too long entirely for quotation here) of the thirteenth century, beginning "Ad honorem salvatoris."²² That these particular hymns were known to Chaucer it would be hazardous to assume. But they demonstrate not only the peculiar character, but also the wide provenience of this aspect of the cult of St. Eloy.²³

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Heft xl, no. 199 (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries). Also in Chevalier, in *Bibliothèque Liturgique*, Tome VII (*Sacramentaire et Martyrologie de l'abbaye de Saint-Remy*), p. 390.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Heft ix, no. 190 (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries), p. 145. Also in Weale, *Analecta liturgica*, Pars II¹, no. 347, p. 485. See also *Analecta liturgica*, Pars II¹, nos. 229 (p. 337), 263 (p. 378); Pars II², nos. 586 (p. 188), 822 (p. 479).

²² *Analecta hymnica*, Heft xlv, no. 123. The group of four hymns (nos. 122-125), of which this is one, is uncommonly illuminating.

²³ For still other hymns to St. Eligius, see *Analecta hymnica*, Heft viii, no. 153 (p. 121); Heft ix, nos. 197-200 (pp. 115-117); Heft xxiii, no. 276 (p. 164); Heft xxv, no. 89 (pp. 250-253); Heft xxxvii, no. 180 (p. 161); Heft xlii, no. 212 (p. 196). Most of the hymns just referred to are from Mss. of the fifteenth century, but are in many cases themselves of earlier date, and they are frequently even more explicit in their emphasis than those from which I have quoted. See also the list of hymns to St. Eligius in Chevalier, *Repertorium hymnologicum*, I, nos. 5342-5345 (p. 320), esp. no. 5343: *Eligi, praesul inclyte, athleta christi splendide, | adesto —*; III, no. 26058 (p. 193). It is of at least curious interest to observe that this very aspect of the work of St. Eligius was emphasized in hymnology as late as the seventeenth century. See the remarkable group of hymns to St. Eligius by Claude Santeul, edited by Chevalier in *Bibliothèque liturgique*, Tome XII (*Hymnes et Proses inédites de Claude Santeul*), Paris, 1909, nos. 297-305 (pp. 203-209), and nos. 470-473 (pp. 354-56). Among these nos. 298, 470-473 are the most striking. Two stanzas will be sufficient to illustrate the persistence of the tradition:

Artis exornas opus, ars vicissim
 Ornat authorem, pretiosa gaudet
 Sponte tractari manibus beatis
 Subdita moles.

Skeat's statement, then, that St. Eligius "was a goldsmith"²⁴ is perfectly true so far as it goes, but it minimizes both the scope and the significance of his art. It was as a great and cunning master workman in precious metals, whose craft was devoted to the adorning of sacred things, that he was remembered far and wide. And the suggestion that the Prioress used his name because "she seems to have been a little given to a love of gold and corals"²⁵—though it comes, I think, close to the mark—overlooks the really salient point. The brooch on the rosary sums up in a master-stroke the subtle analysis of the Prioress's character—the delicately suggested clash between her worldly and her religious aspirations. And the brooch on the rosary is in point of fact (though I do not for a moment suppose that Chaucer definitely meant it so) no less symbolic of the work of St. Eligius. Whatever the considerations may have been that kept the Prioress from invocation of the greater saints, there could at least have been no doubt in her mind of a friendly comprehension of her character and needs on the part of the one-time artist-bishop of Noyon.

I have no intention of pushing to its limits the curious analogy between the Prioress herself and the special saint whose name, to her mind, carried greatest weight.²⁶ But certain points are obvious enough, and must, without much doubt, have been in Chaucer's mind. In the eyes of the woman who "peyned hir to countrefete chere Of court, and been estatlich of manere," a *courtier*-saint would, to say the least, suffer no derogation. And if the *courtier*-saint were also fair to look upon, and not without a weakness (however ultimately subdued) for personal adornment, his appeal would not thereby be lessened to the nun who paid no small at-

Quas pius sculpis superum figuras,
In tuos mira trahis arte mores;
Facta conaris rediviva veris
Reddere factis (no. 471, stanzas 3-4).

²⁴ *Oxford Chaucer*, v, 13.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

²⁶ "Hir gretteste oath was *but* by seynt Loy" seems to involve two implications—first, that to the Prioress herself the oath by St. Eloy meant very much indeed; second, that after all, as compared with such "othes . . . grete and . . . dampnable" as (for instance) those of the Host—"By *corpus* bones"; "By godes bones"; "By nayles and by blood"; "By the croys which that seint Eleyne fond"—the Prioress's greatest oath was mild enough.

tention to the pleating of her wimple; whose cloak was "fetis" enough to strike a shrewd observer's eye;²⁷ whose smiling was "ful simple and coy"; and whose mouth was still soft and red. And as for St. Eligius we have striking testimony. For St. Ouen is, as it were, constrained to give *his* "as I was war." After a long account of Eligius's good works, he suddenly breaks off. "Sed dum vidi hominem," he exclaims, "cur etiam non et formulam eius depingam?" And he continues:

Erat enim statura prolixus et facie rubicundus; gerebat caesariem formosam et crinem quoque circillatam; manus habebat honestas et digitos longos, angelico vultu, simplice et prudente visu. Utebatur quidem in primordio aurum et gemmas in habitu; habebat quoque zonas ex auro et gemmis conpositas necnon et bursas elegantius gemmatis; lineas²⁸ vero metallo rutilas orasque sarcarum²⁹ auro operatas, cuncta quidem vestimenta praetiosissima, nonnulla etiam olosirica. Sed haec omnia ob ostentationem fugiendam primo tempore utebatur in palam, intrinsecus vero ad carnem cili-cium gestabat ex consuetudine. Postea vero, cum adauctius profecit, cuncta ornamenta in egentium necessitatibus consumpsit. Videres plerumque ire funiculo cinctum, vilibus vestibus tectum, quem videbas dudum radientia aurum et gemmarum mole oper-tum.³⁰

Even more interesting, however, is the passage as it appears in a thirteenth-century French translation of St. Ouen's *Life*.³¹ For phrased as it is by Gérard de Montreuil the description of the Saint reads like an excerpt from any poem of courtly love:

Li mirooirs de l'escriture
Me dist que de longe estature
Estoit mesires sains Eloys.
Blanche ert sa chars si comme nois,

²⁷ Chaucer's "as I was war" is no mere tag.

²⁸ "Vestis interior, stricta, ex lino confecta" (Ducange).

²⁹ "Idem quod saraca vel sarica, genus pallii vel tunicae species" (Ducange).

³⁰ *Vita*, Lib. I, cap. 12.

³¹ *Les Miracles de Saint Éloi. Poème du XIII^e Siècle*, ed. Peigné-Delacourt (Beauvais, Noyon et Paris, n. d.). The manuscript (in the Bodleian Library) is described by Peigné-Delacourt on pp. 2-4. It belonged originally to the Abbey of St. Éloi at Noyon, was lost in 1591, when the Abbey was sacked by Henri de Bourbon, turned up in Paris in 1605, and eventually came to England. The poem itself is by Gérard de Montreuil, and was completed in 1294 (see Peigné-Delacourt, pp. 10 ff., 126).

Vermaus de fache et iex mult biaux,
 Et rechierchelés des caviaus,
 Beles mains, dois d'ongles et lons,
 Simple regart comme coulons,
 Augel où vont douche raison
 Avoit le debonnaire hom.
 Li sains en son commencement,
 D'or et de gemmes noblement
 Apareilloit ses vestéures :
 Adiès chaignoit riches chaintures,
 Ablouque d'or menu ferées
 De membres d'or et bien gemmées,
 Aveuc tout che, les aumosnieres
 Avoit tant riches et tant chieres
 D'or et de gemmes bien ouvrées,
 De boutons d'or enfrangelées ;
 Ses dois avoit tous plains d'aniaus,
 Et à son col riches fremaus,
 Et chemises mult très deliés
 De liex en liex bien très lichiés
 De fil d'or et de fil de soie :
 Qui ne m'en croit et livre voie.
 Il se vestoit mult noblement,
 Et noble erent si garnement.
 Pourpres et cendaus et samis,
 Vestoit adiès li dieu amis,
 Proprement, en l'entention
 D'esconser sa religion ;
 Car par desous à la char nue
 Avoit adès haire vestue,⁸² etc.

Even in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* Eloy remains the beau ideal of "a verray parfit gentil" saint. In the "Miracle de l'evesque

⁸² Ed. Peigné-Delacourt, p. 31. That Chaucer intended to suggest in his account of the Prioress a touch of amorousness—an interpretation which Mr. Percy Mackaye elaborates wholly without warrant (as it seems to me) in his *Canterbury Pilgrims*—I do not for a moment mean to hint. But his emphasis is strongly upon the *woman* underneath the trappings of the nun; the beauty and accomplishments of her St. Loy are part and parcel of his legend; and like the other details they are at least in harmony with the Prioress's predilections. Compare the account of the chaplain whom the equally courtly Abbess Ermine "moult ama" in the *Roman de Galerent* (ed. Boucherie, ll. 902 ff.).

a qui Nostre Dame s'apparut"⁸³ he is master of the heavenly ceremonies. It is he who, accompanying Our Lady with St. John, gives the archangels their cue to sing:

SAINT ELOY

De cuer yray; faire le doy.
Seigneurs anges, devant mouvez
Et chantez si com vous savez
En alant la.

MICHIEL

Bien chanterons, n'en doubtez ja.
Sus, Gabriel

GABRIEL

Avant commençons ce rondel.
C'est chançon trop melodieuse.⁸⁴ . . .

SAINT ELOY

Avant, seigneurs, or y parra
Comment ce rondel finerez,
Ne comment bons chantres serez
A ceste foiz.

GABRIEL

Michiel, de faire oir noz voiz
Arons nous pensée soingneuse⁸⁵

SAINT ELOY

Avant, seigneurs, a haulte voiz,
Par amour ce rondel pardites,
Qu'aviez commencé, quant venistes
Cy en ceste estre.

GABRIEL

Nous le sarons bien a fin mettre.
Avant, Michiel, je vous em pri,
Prenons ensemble sanz detri:
C'est, ce m'est avis, le meilleur.⁸⁶

⁸³ *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (Soc. des anc. textes fr.), vol. ii, pp. 55-87.

⁸⁴ P. 72, ll. 366-373.

⁸⁵ P. 75, ll. 477-483.

⁸⁶ P. 80, ll. 602-609.

And it is he who is honored with the office of Our Lady's cup-bearer :

NOSTRE DAME

Eloy, veuillez a moy entendre.
Devant moy portez ce vaissel.
Et vous, Michiel et Gabriel,
En allant chanterez vous deux.
Jehan, ne demourez pas seulx.
Vous en venrez avecques nous
Jusqu'en ce moustier. Or sus, touz,
Mouvez, mouvez.

SAINT JEHON

Voulentiers, puisque c'est voz grez,
Dame, g'iray.

SAINT ELOY

Aussi feray j'et porteray
Ce vaissel honnorablement,
Il appartient bien vraiment,
C'est chose digne

NOSTRE DAME

Eloy prez de moy vous traiez,
Ce vaissiau d'or me rebaillez
Que vous baillay.

SAINT ELOY

Je ne vous en feray delay :
Vez le cy, dame.⁸⁷

In like fashion, in the "Miracle de un enfant que Nostre Dame resucita,"⁸⁸ it is St. Eloy who courteously ushers out from the scene of the miracle both God and Our Lady with fitting song:

NOSTRE DAME

Chier filz, ceste honneur leur ferez,
S'il vous plaist, et je vous em pri

⁸⁷ Pp. 78-79, ll. 542-555, 579-582.

⁸⁸ Vol. ii, pp. 281-346.

Qu'apres eulx alons sanz detry.
 Vezcy qui seront noz convoiz
 Et chanteront a haulte voiz,
 Si que pour leurs cuers resjoir
 Vous leur donrrez du chant oir,
 S'il vous plaist, grace.

DIEU

Il me plaist, mère, qu'il se face.
 Seigneurs vous oez qu'elle dit.
 Or sus, trestouz, sanz contredit
 Si en alons.

SAINT ELOY

Vray Dieu, vostre vouloir ferons,
 Mes amis, sanz faire descort,
 Je vous pri chantons par accort
 Et de doulx traiz.

[*Rondel*]³⁹

The "chere of court" learned under Clotaire and Dagobert Eloy clearly practiced with due decorum in the courts above, and he seems to have commended himself to Our Lady—and why not to the Prioress?—by being "ful pleasaunt and amiable of port," and, even among the heavenly presences, most engagingly "estatlich of manere"!

In a word, St. Eloy was in his life as in his legend pretty much all that the Prioress either was or "peyned hir" to be, and the line that gives "hir gretteste ooth" seems to be one more characterizing touch, in perfect keeping with all the rest, in what is perhaps Chaucer's masterpiece of portraiture.⁴⁰ It is possible, of

³⁹ Pp. 343-344, ll. 1819-1834.

⁴⁰ Let me guard at once against a certain fallacy into which there is always danger that one may fall. That Chaucer thought explicitly and *seriatim* of all the qualities of St. Eloy that have been noted here, I hope some kindly saint will keep my readers from supposing I believe. What he knew of St. Eloy was doubtless an impression, based in part on what he may have read, in part on what he probably had heard. What has to be made even painfully explicit to us was matter of familiar knowledge in his day, and his felicitous choice of St. Eloy was doubtless a flash of inspiration, under the happy guidance (very probably) of his rhyme. At all events, he did not have to read an article on

course, that St. Eloy was named at random. In that case, one of the most felicitous touches in a composition, every remaining line of which gives evidence of consummate art, is accident. "Now demeth as yow liste, ye that can."⁴¹

St. Eloy to recognize the aptness of the touch! That misfortune is ours, in virtue of our having been born some centuries too late. That a labored exposition is necessary to interpret a flash of genius is unfortunate, because we are prone to read back the exposition into the creative act, and instinctively and properly rebel. The exposition is of value only as it reconstructs the hovering associations that all at once focussed, precipitated themselves—or whatever figure one may use—in the poet's mind.

⁴¹ Professor Hales's interpretation of the line (*Folia Litteraria*, pp. 102-105) is quoted, with varying degrees of assent, by most of the commentators. It is based upon the account, in St. Ouen's *Life*, of Eligius's refusal, on one occasion, to swear by the relics of the saints. "And thus we arrive," says Professor Hales, "at what I have already said appears to be the real sense of the words, viz., the Prioress never swore at all" (p. 104). Once more: "He [Eligius] forswore swearing, so to speak; and so an oath by Eloy would mean an oath according to his usage [but *would* it? Such a use of 'by' in an oath is absolutely without parallel], i. e., such an oath as he might have uttered or approved, i. e., no oath at all" (p. 105). The passage in question is found in Book I, chapter 6 of the *Vita*:

"Me praesente, nescio quam ob causam, nisi quod facile datur intellegi fidelitatis obtento, dum apud regem puerulus habitarem, quadam die Rotoilo in agro accito rex Eligio quoram reliquias sanctorum praecipiebat ei, ut impositione manuum sacris pignoribus donaret sacramentum; sed ille divino intuitu verens, recusare humiliter omni nisu temptabat. Cumque instantius id facere compelleretur, anxius valde coepit mox ubertim lacrimas profundere, metuens scilicet regem offendere septuplumque pavens sanctis pignoribus manus imponere. Intuens itaque rex eius timorem simulque mirans tantam viri devotionem, desiit ultra eum cogere, sed magis blande liniterque demulcens laetissimo illum vultu dimisit, pollicens se plus eum ex hoc iam crediturum, quam si multimodo tunc dedisset iuramenta."

But the occurrence is not given as showing St. Eloy's *usage*, nor, indeed, does this incident in his career seem to have found its way into general knowledge at all. And there is not a shred of evidence that the very common oath by St. Eloy ever meant any such thing. The interpretation, I think it must be said, is hopelessly forced.

Miss Hammond's implied suggestion (*Modern Language Notes*, vol. xxii, Feb., 1907, p. 51), based on a passage from Lydgate ("And Seynt loye youre journey schall preserve"), that St. Eloy is invoked as a patron saint of *travellers*, is difficult to accept. For we are scarcely to assume that the line refers to the Prioress's language on her pilgrimage alone, and only on this assumption does the interpretation seem to have pertinence.

II

I wish to deal very briefly with another aspect of the cult and legend of St. Eloy, in its bearing, this time, on the carter's invocation of the saint in the *Friar's Tale*.⁴² I shall do little more than indicate the somewhat scattered sources of information.

There is in the *Life* by St. Ouen a single incident which connects St. Eloy definitely with *horses*. The story is told in the forty-seventh chapter of the second book.⁴³ Briefly summarized, it is as follows:

There belonged to St. Eloy, during his lifetime, an extremely docile horse (equum unum inter ceteros mansuetissimum), which after the saint's death became the property of the Abbot at Noyon. The bishop Mummolenus, however, coveted the horse, and took it by force (violenter eum . . . subripuit) from the abbot. The abbot invoked the saint, whereupon the horse fell sick (coepit statim pedibus condolere, ac toto corpore marcescente, tabescens decadere), and allowed no one to approach him (cum ad eum aliquis accessisset, veluti fera agrestis in fremitus et calces prosiliens, laniare curatorem suum nitebatur). The bishop thereupon presented the animal to a lady of his acquaintance (matronae sibi dilectae). No sooner had she mounted the horse than she was hurled to the ground, so that she lay in bed a year from her injuries (eadem conquassatione laborans). The unhappy lady returned the horse to the bishop, but it failed to yield to treatment, becoming, indeed, still worse (tantum semper isdem in peius delabebatur). Finally the bishop sent it back to the abbot, whereupon the horse returned to its former docility (post paucos dies sanus factus equus ac mansuetissimus redditus, sub jure eiusdem abbatris permansit omni forma decorus).

Whether or not this incident served as a starting point, there attached itself at all events to St. Eloy a legend of wide proveni-

⁴² This carter thakketh his hors upon the croupe,
And they bigonne drawn and to-stoupe;
"Heyt, now!" quod he, "ther Jesu Crist yow blesse,
And al his handwerk bothe more and lesse!
That was wel twight, myn owene lyard boy!
I pray god save thee and sēynt Loy!
Now is my cart out of the slow, pardee!"
(D. 1559-1565.)

⁴³ Krusch, pp. 726-727.

ence, associated at various times with many persons and many places—the well-known story of the *pied coupé*.⁴⁴ The following summary of the legend I have condensed from the version given by de Nussac:

St. Eloy has set himself up as a *maréchal ferrant*, with a sign on his door that reads: "*Éloi, maître sur tous*." One day St. Peter appears in the guise of an apprentice, and asks for instruction. "Read my sign," says St. Eloy, and gives him a piece of metal from which he is to make a horse-shoe in three heatings (*chaudes*). St. Peter says he'll do it in one, and, to St. Eloy's astonishment, proceeds to do so. At this point a horse is brought in to be shod. St. Peter gets permission to do it in his own way. He immediately cuts off the horse's foot (the horse remaining meantime quite composed), clamps it in a vise, puts on the shoe, takes the foot out of the vise, puts it exactly into its place, gives it a tap—and the horse, after three leaps, goes off as before. Eloy, meantime, has been watching closely, and one day, in the absence of the supposed apprentice, another horse is brought in to be shod. Eloy at once cuts off its foot. The blood spurts out, and the horse is in agony. Eloy, however, adjusts the shoe, and then tries to put back the foot, but it won't stick. At this point St. Peter reappears, and restores the foot to its place. "Ah," cries St. Eloy, "it is *you* who are master, and not I!" "Heureux celui qui s'humilie, honte à celui qui s'exalte," replies the apostle, who now appears in his supernatural majesty, leaps on the horse behind the rider (who turns out to be St. George), and disappears. Eloy breaks his sign in pieces.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ See especially the long series of articles and communications by H. Gaidoz and others in *Mélusine*, vol. v, cols. 97-107, 170, 261; vol. vi, col. 125; vol. vii, cols. 25-26, 77-94, 157-158; vol. viii, cols. 30-31, 122-123, 153-156, 208-209; vol. ix, cols. 188-189; vol. x, cols. 241-243; vol. xi, cols. 89-92, 446, 463-465. See also de Nussac as above, esp. vol. xvii, pp. 531-542; Auricoste de Lazarque, *Saint-Eloi et le pèlerinage des chevaux, de Flastroff en Lorraine*, Strasbourg, Metz and Paris, 1888; François Marie Lazel, "La Légende de Saint Éloi" (extrait du *Bulletin de la Société Académique de Brest*); "Die Legende des h. Eligius" (*Neujahrsblatt herausgegeben von der Stadtbibliothek in Zürich*, 1874).

⁴⁵ De Nussac, vol. xvii, pp. 531-533. For other well-known variants of the same story, as referred to others that St. Eloy, see *ibid.*, pp. 533-539. Compare also *Mélusine*, vol. vii, cols. 83-87; vol. viii, cols. 122-127. For the connection of St. Eloy with the guilds, and the long lists of those of which he was patron, see *Mélusine*, vol. vii, cols. 81-82; vol. viii, cols. 128-129, 155; de Nussac, vol. xvii, p. 548 ff. For the supposed contamination of this legend with that of St. Apelle, see *Mélusine*, vol. vii, cols. 88-92. On the curious turn of the legend of St. Eloy to account for the origin of the ape, see *Mélusine*, vol. ix, cols. 188-189.

That St. Eloy should be invoked by carters, or by anyone who has to do with horses, is accordingly natural enough. Even today, "dans la contrée armoricaine, quand un cheval bâille, tousse ou éternue, on lui dit: *Que saint Éloi vous assiste!* comme l'on fait aux chrétiens: Dieu te benisse!"⁴⁶ And in England the carter's invocation was in common use long after Chaucer's day. In the *Early Works of Thomas Becon*,⁴⁷ "our new idolaters" are reproached for crying for help "as unto Luke for the ox, unto Job for the pox, unto Anthony for the pig, unto Loy for the horse."⁴⁸ So, in the *Early writings of B^r Hooper*: "Every man, as his superstition leadeth him, he commendeth his . . . ox to God and St. Luke, his horse to God and St. Loye."⁴⁹

The Prioress's oath and the carter's invocation represent, then, two widely differing elements in the legend of the saint. And these two elements are aptly summarized at the close of de Nussac's illuminating article:

"La grâce qu'a saint Éloi est d'avoir à la fois un caractère très démocratique et une auréole dorée de mysticisme, très artistique, très aristocratique. Cela a sauvé ses traditions à un âge obscur entre tous, quand bien de ses illustres contemporains ont sombré dans l'oubli des peuples."⁵⁰

It is in this character "très aristocratique" that he attracts the gentle Prioress; as a figure "très démocratique" his name is also on the lips of the carter. The aptness and accuracy of Chaucer's employment of the legend in the second case admits no doubt. And there is every reason to believe that in the first the exquisite pertinence of the allusion is no accident.⁵¹

⁴⁶ De Nussac, vol. xvii, p. 576.

⁴⁷ Ed. Parker Society, p. 138. Becon lived from 1511 to 1567 or 1570.

⁴⁸ Ed. Parker Society, p. 309.

⁴⁹ To these may be added Professor Skeat's references in the *Oxford Chaucer*, v, 13-14.

⁵⁰ Vol. xvii, pp. 638-639.

⁵¹ Two curious points may be noted here. St. Eloy is still invoked among the "petites ouvrières de Paris," when they wish to see in a dream the young man whom they are to marry. "A cette effet, elles placent un miroir sous le traversin avec une mèche de cheveux et, avant de se coucher, disent cette formulette:

Je mets le pied sur l'antiboi,
Je prie le grand bon saint Éloi,

Qu'il me fasse voir en rêvant,
Le mari que j'aurai de mon vivant.

Puis elles récitent cinq *Pater* et cinq *Ave*" (de Nussac, vol. xvii p. 610, n.).

In early medical works and elsewhere there are references to a "mal de St. Éloi." See, for example, *Le Testament d Jehan de Meung* (ed. Méon, p. 64, in the section "De l'atour des femmes"):

Je n'en sai que cuidier, foi que je doi Saint George,
Fors qu'elles ont trové creste nouvelle forge
D'euls lier por monstrier leur menton et leur gorge,
Qui ne sunt mie teles d'iaue ne de pain d'orge.
Por dire vérité, ne sai se je foloy;
Mès se les escroeles ou *li maus saint Eloy*.
Y faisoient leurs niz, comme en leur franc aloy,
Elles se reliassent à l'ancienne loy.

A most interesting discussion of the disease (a variety of fistula) is found in *La Chirurgie de Maître Henri de Mondeville* (Soc. des anc. textes fr.), vol. ii, pp. 160-162, §§ 1987-1990.

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REVIEWS

Littérature Espagnole. Par JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY, 2^e Édition, refondue et augmentée. Paris, Armand Colin, 1913. Pp. xxii + 494.

Bibliographie de l'Histoire de la Littérature espagnole. Par JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY. Paris, Armand Colin, 1913. Pp. vii + 79.

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra: A Memoir. By JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY, F.B.A., Gilmour Professor of Spanish in the University of Liverpool. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1913. Pp. xx + 228.

The Oxford Book of Spanish Verse, XIIIth Century-XIXth Century, Chosen by JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY, F.B.A., Gilmour Professor of Spanish in the University of Liverpool. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1913. Pp. xxxv + 460.

The history of the *Littérature Espagnole* is interesting and instructive, for it shows the author as a scholar broad enough and scientific enough to examine without prejudice every scrap of criticism that is presented to him; and despite the arduous academic duties with which he has meanwhile been burdened, persevering enough to keep abreast of the modern and somewhat plethoric output in the field of Spanish literature.

The work first appeared in 1898, and in English, and immediately met with a warm reception on both sides of the Atlantic. Here was a book with a raciness of style and a breadth of vision to which we were wholly unaccustomed in manuals of any kind, even of literature; and the author's profound knowledge of other literatures and his catholicity of taste made it possible for him to give in his history despite its brevity many a comparison that shed a white light on the international literary and cultural influence of Spanish literature.

Three years later (in mid-summer of 1901) appeared the Spanish version. The translator was that brilliant young scholar Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, whose excellent knowledge of English was frequently put to the test (as he himself told us) by the aforesaid raciness of style. But the book in its Spanish garb was not a mere translation of the original English edition. The author insisted on revising every statement that had been successfully challenged by the critics or that subsequent investigations by himself or by others had shown to be unsound. It was this revised statement that Bonilla y San Martín then translated. Both the author and the translator made copious and properly signed annotations to the text. In addition to all these improvements, the Spanish version carried with it a forty-two page prologue by the lamented Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo that was one of the prettiest pieces of work ever produced even by that master mind. The bibliography in the Spanish version was considerably increased, but maintained the general form of the original: an unhandy running commentary, so to speak, arranged chapter by chapter at the end of the book.

The aforesaid prologue by Menéndez y Pelayo acknowledged that in a manual an author must naturally be allowed to decide what writers he will not include in his treatment, and then he goes on to make suggestions as to topics

that he would like to see included if Fitzmaurice-Kelly should decide to enlarge somewhat the scope of his manual in any subsequent edition. All the authors and works thus mentioned by Menéndez y Pelayo were carefully read by Fitzmaurice-Kelly and most of the suggestions were adopted in the French version that appeared in 1904, although the author's judgment concerning a given work or writer may not always agree with that of the great Spaniard. In this connection the present writer wishes to acknowledge that, in the light of certain facts which were all he then had to guide him, he misinterpreted the phrase "believing that any independent view is better than the mechanical repetition of authoritative verdicts" that appears in the preface to the original English edition. Subsequent information concerning Fitzmaurice-Kelly's method of study and procedure, as herein outlined, leaves no justification for the criticism formerly levelled at this particular phrase.

The French version had not the advantage of finding, as translator, a specialist; but the same method of procedure was followed as in the case of the Spanish version: the author revised his text in every point that he deemed necessary (not merely in those cases where he agreed with the suggestion of M. y P.), and this revised version was done into French under the immediate and final control of the author himself. The whole book was thus reworked. Some idea of the extent of the changes may be gathered from two facts. Ten solid pages have been introduced concerning the *romances*; and the Bibliography has been expanded from fourteen pages in the original to forty-seven of fine print, arranged under seven headings (I—Bibliographies, II—General Works, III—History of the Theatre, IV—Collections of Texts, V—Chrestomathies, VI—Books on the First Chapter, and VII—Editions and Studies), for each of which the materials are alphabetized.

Nine years passed, and despite his lecture tour in the United States in 1907 under the auspices of the Hispanic Society of America, followed by his lecture course at University College, London, in 1908, which resulted in giving us his delightful volume "Chapters on Spanish Literature"; despite his becoming Gilmour Professor of Spanish at the University of Liverpool, with all the academic duties inherent in such a position; and despite his many other publications, Fitzmaurice-Kelly has continued to labor upon this manual. The edition of the French version having been exhausted (I wonder why the English version has not long since been exhausted), he decided that he would rewrite the whole work himself and bring it up to date once more.¹ The present writer believes that even Frenchmen will consider Fitzmaurice-Kelly's French style a brilliant achievement.

The first chapter has been thoroughly reworked, too thoroughly in fact, so that in its present form it occupies ten pages as compared with its previous forty. While I realize that this curtailment makes possible more extended treatment for several topics later in the book, I none the less miss the material that has been dropped, and regret the elimination. The original chapter contained a general presentation of many phases of early Spanish cultural and literary conditions that are not often to be found so conveniently grouped. The *élan*, the

¹ The work appeared simultaneously in a revised Spanish version which has not yet come to my hands: *Historia de la literatura española*, Madrid, Imp. Clásica Española, 1913. 8°, xx + 579 pp.

genial tone and the broad sweep of the earlier treatment are lacking in this later, shortened presentation. Some of the points thus omitted here are completely lost to the book; and the treatment of the few others in later chapters does not entirely compensate for their omission at this point.

Chapter II, dealing with the anonymous period, has been likewise thoroughly reworked. Especially noteworthy is the new presentation of the whole problem of the epic, in which the results of all the recent studies have been carefully weighed and justly judged. It is to be noted, too, that the treatment of the *Crónica rimada* or *Cantar de Rodrigo* is postponed to the period that probably produced the only form in which we have the work. Nor should we overlook the new treatment accorded the four poems first published by the first Marqués de Pidal: *Disputa del Alma y el Cuerpo*, *Vida de Santa María Egipcíaca*, *Libro dels tres Reyes dorient*, and *Libro de Apollonio*, which are now presented chronologically, the first in the twelfth century and the other three at the beginning of the thirteenth. And their treatment is more ample and satisfying.

The space allotted to Berceo, the *Libro de Alijandre* and the *Poema de Fernán González* has been increased more than fifty per cent., and the treatment is very noticeably improved, but I miss in the passage on Berceo the references to Puymaigre and to John Hookham Frere. The former persisted through the first Spanish and the first French versions, the latter was suppressed in the first French version. These suppressions are regrettable, for not all Spanish scholars (nor even, in this case, all Berceo specialists) are likely to know all these little comparisons and references, which form one of the chief charms of every work produced by Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly. As a compensation in just such matters, it is a pleasure to note that he has added two little touches in his treatment of Alfonso el Sabio: the quotation from Dante, and the reference to Bernat Descoll as possibly the real author of the saying attributed to Alfonso to the effect that "If God had consulted me, at the creation, He would have made the world very differently." The statement of the case for the complicated problems concerning the *Primera Crónica general* of Alfonso el Sabio is clear and concise. Reference is made to Mr. Paul Groussac's theory that Alfonso did not write the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*; and we are glad to welcome the new reference to Adelaide Procter's treatment, in her *Story of Provence*, of the legend of the statue and the ring, two beautiful variants of which are found in these same *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.

And so one might continue pointing out the improvements of this edition over all its predecessors. The account of Cervantes has been entirely rewritten, as we should expect from the author who publishes simultaneously a memoir on the *Life of Cervantes*. The same is true of Alarcón, Calderón, Lope de Vega, and Tirso de Molina; and in every case the account has been materially shortened. We are, to be sure, glad to have these passages revised in the light of every recent study that at all bears on them, but I am not entirely sure that I like these curtailed accounts as well as I should have liked revised accounts of the same length as the originals. Of course, I realize that to compensate these losses we have many new paragraphs treating subjects that had been either entirely omitted or less lengthily treated in the previous editions.

Perhaps the most notable of these are the generally more extended treatment given to the drama; the recasting of the last two chapters so as to make possible

the inclusion of the moderns who have attained to distinction since the appearance of the first edition; and the treatment accorded the complex problems of the *romances*, which were given a very brief handling in the editions of 1898 and 1901, materially enlarged in that of 1904, and now again rewritten and treated in still greater detail.

It has been my misfortune not to be able to see a copy of Foulché-Delbosc's *Essai sur les origines du Romancero*, referred to on page 134; and I was considerably surprised at some of the assertions that Foulché-Delbosc is reported as having attributed to Menéndez Pidal. I have in mind particularly the charge that Menéndez Pidal claims collective, rather than individual, authorship for the *romances*. At the time of their appearance I read carefully not only the *Épopée castillane* but also the *Romancero español*, which gives a somewhat more extended treatment of these problems; but I never understood Menéndez Pidal as making that claim. I have just re-read the chapters in question, and am still unable to draw that particular conclusion. I do understand Menéndez Pidal to claim that the people reciting the *romances* in successive generations made successive and radical alterations in the texts they recited and thus became part authors of the *romances* as we now have them; but it is a far cry from this claim of a collective and spontaneous activity spread over centuries to a claim of a collective and spontaneous authorship at a given moment. The champions arrayed on each side are expert in the use of their weapons, and we shall await with interest the outcome of their further engagements in the battle for the truth.

In closing let me express the hope that the author will some day give us a revised English version with all the improvements contained in this excellent revised French version, but not subjected to the curtailments he has felt obliged to effect in the book under review. I believe there is room for a volume of six hundred pages written in his style; and if we had it we could await with greater patience the appearance of the large history of Spanish literature upon which we know he has been at work for more than fifteen years.

In justice to the author's intention, the *Bibliographie de l'Histoire de la Littérature espagnole*, notwithstanding its enlargement and its appearance as a separate volume, must be considered as a supplement and necessary appendix to the work entitled *Littérature Espagnole*. But despite the author's modest claims for it, we must acknowledge that it is a very valuable aid to all workers in Spanish literature, even to the highly trained specialist, who will find here many an indication that had entirely escaped him in the first place or that, seen at the time the work in question appeared, had since slipped his mind. Cataloguers in university libraries, college libraries and public libraries will find it invaluable; and I should like to recommend earnestly that they consult it assiduously when deciding how to alphabet the complex and often perplexing names of Spanish authors. Furthermore, libraries of all three of the classes mentioned, where the field of Spanish literature may hitherto have been neglected, could do no better than use this bibliography as their first large order, buying every work here listed. Any library that made such a purchase would probably find itself the possessor of a better working library in Spanish literature than is at this moment possessed by any university in the country, although that statement is not necessarily high praise.

In making the following remarks and suggestions my purpose has not been merely to make additions. I have tried not to go beyond what I believe to have been the author's own plan, and the suggestions are made on the possibility of their having escaped even his assiduity. They are offered here in the hope that they may be of service to the public. Otherwise I should have sent them privately to the author.

Page 3. BULLETIN HISPANIQUE. Paraissant tous les trois mois. Bordeaux-Paris, depuis 1899. (En cours de publication.)

Page 4. CULTURA ESPAÑOLA. Revista trimestral (Antes Revista de Aragón). Madrid, 1906-1909.

Page 9. Biblioteca de "Archivo Extremeño." Badajoz, depuis 1910.

Page 9. Biblioteca Oropesa. Madrid, depuis 1905.

Page 16 [Aleman] lines 13-14. F. W. Chandler, *Romances of Roguery*, New York, 1899.

Page 23 [Caballero] line 2. L. Coloma, *Recuerdos de Fernán Caballero*, Bilbao, 1910.

Page 32 [Cota de Maguaque] line 26. A. Bonilla y San Martín, *Anales de literatura española*, Madrid, 1904, pp. 164-167; *Deux lettres de la Reine Isabelle*, in *Revue hispanique*, I (1894), 85-87.

Page 34 [Echegaray] line 40. A. Zacher, *Don José Echegaray, Der Verfasser des Galeoto*, Berlin, 1892; F. Vézinet, *Les maîtres du roman espagnol*, Paris, 1907, pp. 281-322; H. de Curson, *Un théâtre d'idées en Espagne: Le théâtre de José Echegaray: Etude analytique*, Paris, 1912.

Page 35 [Enzina] line 25. Several lyrics reprinted by M. Menéndez y Pelayo in *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, IV (1893), 135-205; his *Arte de poesía castellana* is reprinted (*id. ib.*), V (1894), 30-47; two *églogas* reprinted in Moratín, *Orígenes del Teatro Español* (Ochoa, *Tesoro del Teatro Español*, I), 134-138; several plays in Boehl de Faber, *Teatro Español anterior á Lope de Vega*, Hamburg, 1832, pp. 1-38.

Page 35 [Ercilla y Zúñiga] line 38. *L'Araucana: morceaux choisis, précédés d'une étude biographique, bibliographique et littéraire, suivis de notes grammaticales, et de versification, et de deux lexiques*, par Jean Ducamin, Paris, 1900.

Page 46 [Lazarillo de Tormes] line 15. Stahr, *Mendoza's Lazarillo de Tormes* in the *Deutsche Jahrbücher für Politik und Literatur*, Berlin, 1862; F. W. Chandler, *Romances of Roguery*, New York, 1899.

Page 70 [Teresa de Jesús] line 19. Miguel Mir, *Santa Teresa de Jesús, su vida, su espíritu, sus fundaciones*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1912; A. Morel-Fatio, *Nouvelles Etudes sur Sainte Thérèse*, in the *Journal des Savants, Nouvelle Série*, 9^e Année (1911), pp. 97-104.

Page 73 [Valera (Juan)] line 32. F. Vézinet, *Les maîtres du roman espagnol contemporain*, Paris, 1907, pp. 1-39.

Remarkably few misprints have been discovered; but the following are such as our German colleagues would call *störend*:

| | INSTEAD OF | READ |
|-------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Page 27, line 31. | <i>Ingratitud de Amor,</i> | <i>Ingratitud por Amor,</i> |
| Page 33, line 1. | XXV. | XXXV. |
| Page 34, line 7. | VIII, | VII, |

| | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Page 38, line 6. | LXII; | XLII; |
| Page 41, line 30. | lectures et ses initiateurs | lecteurs et ses imitateurs |
| Page 41, line 33. | XXIII, | XVIII, |
| Page 51, line 13. | CIV-CLI | LV-CIII |

In writing the Preface to his *Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra: A Memoir*, Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly has allowed his modesty to run away with his devotion to scholarly accuracy. His own genial *Life of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, London, 1892, is not mentioned; although it is my impression that every other important item in the long list of Cervantes biographies is duly chronicled.

Again, on page ix, his modesty prevents his telling us that he himself was one of the two scholars who "successfully challenged" Pérez Pastor's theory "referring to a supposititious edition of *Don Quixote* ascribed to the year 1604"; yet he pays handsome tribute to the open-minded scholarship of Pérez Pastor, who in a subsequent volume, explicitly abandoned the aforesaid theory and furnished additional materials for its overthrow.

A few sentences from the Preface will amply explain the author's purpose in writing this new account of the life of Spain's greatest writer:

"In the present volume I have eschewed all such [referring to Navarro y Ledesma's fanciful *El Ingenioso Hidalgo Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*] decorative devices, as I have eschewed literary criticism. . . . For the moment it seems to me important to continue Navarrete's work, to place on record all that is positively known of Cervantes's life, to sift the guesses from the facts, and to establish the facts by such evidence as might satisfy a legal tribunal. In the process of examining the evidence some picturesque legends must be discarded. . . .

". . . My aim has been to give every known fact about Cervantes, suppressing nothing, extenuating nothing, unswayed as far as possible by the natural bias which we all have in favour of a great creative genius whose subtle charm has fascinated successive generations for three centuries. Against this inevitable prepossession I have been constantly on guard."

This purpose the author has successfully carried out; and he has given us a sane, sober, authoritative account of the known facts of Cervantes's life. Let no one be misled, however, by his solemn implication that the book is to have no literary merit. He even wrote the present writer, nearly a year before the book appeared, that he had made it as dull as a police report, which he had taken as his model. But Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly trying to write a dull and uninteresting book is like an expert swordsman seeking a duel as a means of suicide: once he gets his weapon in hand no power on earth can prevent his exercising the skill of which he is master.

The book is thoroughly readable, and being so abundantly documented supercedes all previous biographies of Cervantes.

A reproduction of the latest alleged portrait of Cervantes serves as frontispiece; and there is a good note setting forth all aspects of the discussion concerning the authenticity thereof. There is also a convenient Genealogical Table.

The authorities of the Clarendon Press were certainly well inspired when

they confided the making of their *Oxford Book of Spanish Verse* to the care of James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, than whom there is no man in the English-speaking world better endowed or better prepared, for precisely this delicate task. His taste, his judgment, his knowledge of and sympathy with the psychology and character of the Spanish people and its literature have all been acknowledged by the greatest of all Spanish literary historians and critics, the lamented Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo:²

"... Fitzmaurice-Kelly no es un árido erudito, sino un fino y delicado literato, un hombre de gusto y de alma poética, que siente con viveza lo bello y lo original, y expresa con elegancia y hasta con calor su entusiasmo estético. . . . Irlandés y de origen católico el Sr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, se muestra exento de la mayor parte de las preocupaciones inglesas, mas duras y tenaces que las de ningún pueblo, y comprende y estima el carácter peculiar de nuestra civilización aun en aquello que es antítesis viva del pensamiento y del carácter inglés."

Under such circumstances it would seem as though, within the narrow limits imposed upon Fitzmaurice-Kelly by the size of the volume to be produced, the selections made by him might reasonably be expected to meet with the approval even of the native experts in such matters. At any rate we may feel confident that nothing unworthy has been included (however much of merit may have been omitted), and that this volume will prove to be a worthy companion to its distinguished predecessors in the series.

An Introduction of twenty-nine pages, written in Fitzmaurice-Kelly's happiest vein, outlines the various lyric movements that are represented in the volume. The question of the *romances* naturally recurs and the author seems to have taken a more conservative attitude towards the respective theories of Foulché-Delbosc and Menéndez Pidal. It is a pleasure also to see, both in the Introduction and in the text, his recognition of the fact that the old *romances* should be printed as they were composed, in the sixteen-syllable, two-hemistich verse, and that the later, artistic *romances* should be printed in the eight-syllable verse, with the assonance in the even verses.

The twenty-seven pages of notes are models of succinct, helpful biographical and bibliographical information. The use of the book is facilitated by an Index of Writers and an Index of First Lines. A Subject Index or Personage Index would be a distinct additional advantage. In both the indices that have been supplied reference to the poems is made by number. As many of the poems cover several pages and the number appears only at the beginning thereof, there is some difficulty in turning directly to the poem sought. A repetition of the numbers on the inner, upper corner of the pages would remedy the matter.

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² *Historia de la literatura española*, por Jaime Fitzmaurice-Kelly, traducida por Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, Madrid, 1901, pp. xx-xxi.

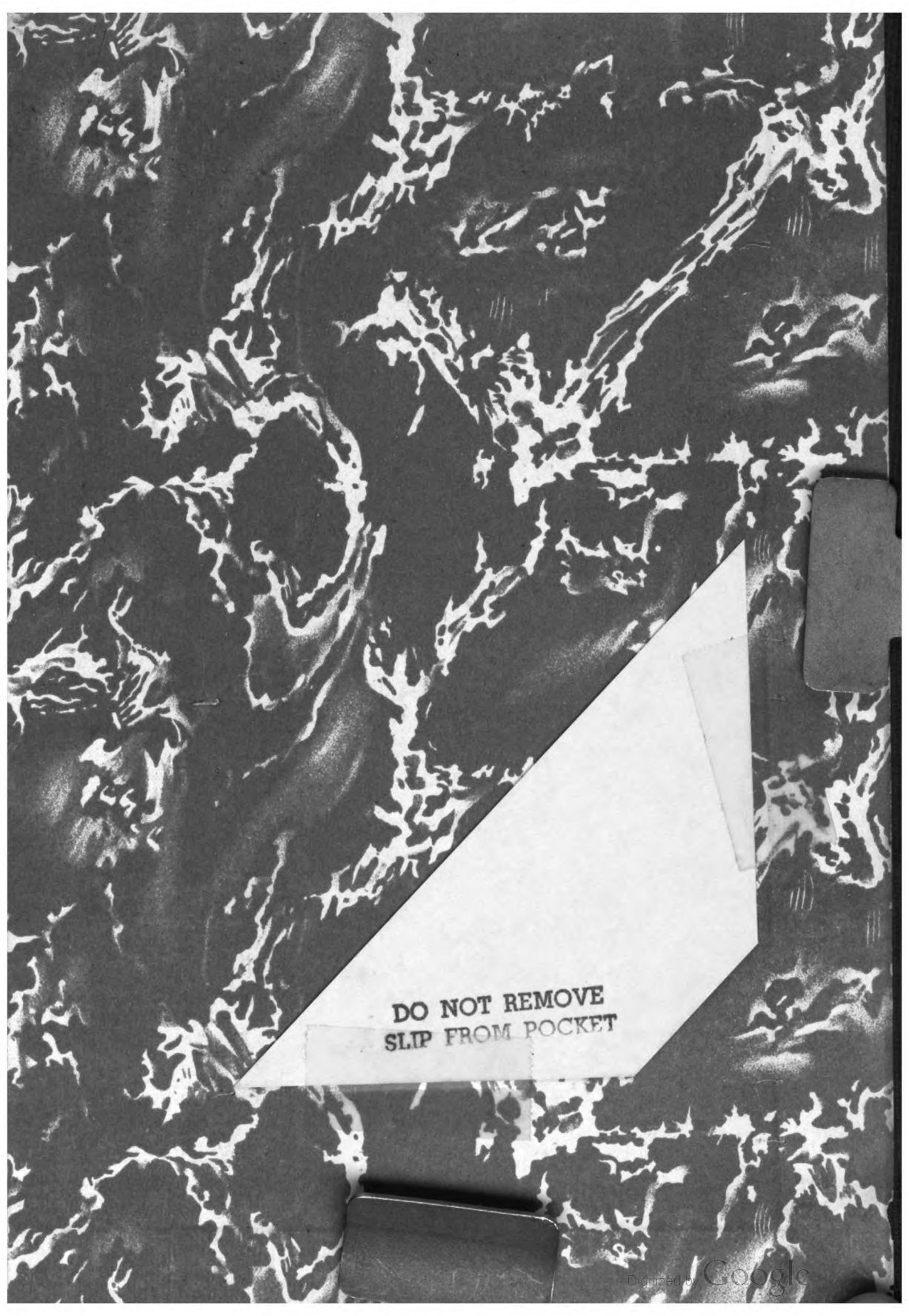
NOTES AND NEWS

At the annual meeting of the Modern Language Association, held at Columbia University, the following officers were elected: President, Jefferson B. Fletcher; Vice-Presidents, Oliver F. Emerson, Bert J. Vos, Mary V. Young.

In the postal-card vote of the members of the Modern Language Association as to the desirability of employing reformed spelling in the official publications of the society, a majority favored employing some form of simplified spelling.

During the past summer a party of twelve university men made a tour of the principal capitals of South America, as the guests of the American Association for International Conciliation. Among them were the following linguists: Percy Bentley Burnet, head of the foreign language department of the Manual Training High School, Kansas City, Missouri; John D. Fitz-Gerald, of the Romance Department of the University of Illinois; Reginald R. Goodell, head of the Romance Department of Simmons College; and Frederick B. Luquiens, Professor of Spanish, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University.



The image shows a close-up of a book cover with a complex, high-contrast marbled pattern in black, white, and grey. A white, triangular paper label is affixed to the lower right portion of the cover. The label contains the text "DO NOT REMOVE" and "SLIP FROM POCKET" in a bold, sans-serif font. The background pattern is dense and organic, resembling a topographical map or a microscopic view of a mineral surface. The lighting is dramatic, with deep shadows and bright highlights that emphasize the texture of the marbling and the edges of the label.

DO NOT REMOVE
SLIP FROM POCKET

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